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AN INVERTED NEMESIS.

ON SOPHOCLES, *Oedipus Rex*, 1270.

AT verse 718 of the *Oedipus Rex*, Jocasta tells how Laius exposed his infant child :

καὶ νῦν ἄρθρα κείνος ἐνζεύξας ποδοῖν
ἔρριψεν.

'And he, yoking together the joints of its feet, cast it away.' The editors have generally assumed that the feet were bound together with a thong through holes bored in the ankles. Prof. Jebb says they were fastened together by driving a pin through them. Instead of the usual word for ankles, σφυρὰ, and of particular interest is the expression ἄρθρα ποδοῖν 'joints of the feet,' with which may be compared the corresponding German word *Fussgelenke*. Prof. Earle's edition of the play has the following note on the passage: 'The baby's feet seem to have been fastened together with a *περόνη* such as may well have been used (like its modern counterpart) to secure the *σπάργανα* or swaddling-clothes. Such a large clasp-pin could well be used to pin together the heels of a three-days' child, if the pin were run between the ankle-bone and the heel-tendon. *Ἐνζεύξας* would well depict the process to the audience—*φωῶνεν ξυνοῦσιν*.' The explanation given by the later scholiast supports Prof. Earle's view of the case: τὰ σφυρὰ περόνη συνάψας 'joining the ankles together with a brooch.'

In Euripides *Phoenissae*, 22, the description is: σφυρῶν σιδηρὰ κέντρα διαπείρας μέσον, where the word κέντρα may include any sharp point such as that of the *περόνη*, as is made clear by v. 1318 of the *Oedipus*:

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κέντρων τε τῶνδε οἷστρομα, 'the sting of these goads,' meaning the point of the *περόνη*. That Euripides in the passage quoted may well have had in mind the action of the *περόνη* is evident from his account of the blinding of Polymestor (*Hec.* 1170):

ἑμῶν γὰρ ὀμμάτων,
πόρπας λαβοῦσθαι, τὰς τάλαιπῶρους κόρας
κεντοῦσιν αἰμάσσουσιν.

Another passage from the *Phoenissae* makes the use of the *περόνη* quite certain, and greatly strengthens Prof. Earle's position (*Phoen.* 802-805):

ὦ . . . Κιθαυρὼν
μήποτε τὸν θανάτῳ προτιθέντα, λόχυνμ'
Ἰοκάστης
ὠφέλες Οἰδιπόδαν θρέψαι βρέφος ἐκβολῶν
οἴκων
χρυσοδέτοις περόναις ἐπίσαμον.

That the brooch was used especially to fasten the *σπάργανα* is stated in Smith's *Dict. of Antiq.*: 'at other times the swaddling-clothes consisted of a small purple scarf, fastened with a brooch.' The only authority cited is Longus, l. 2:

καὶ (ὁ αἰπόλος) θανμάσας . . . εὑρίσκει παιδίον ἄρρεν, μέγα καὶ καλὸν, καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἐκθεσιν τύχης ἐν σπαργάνοις κρείττοσι χλανιδίων τε γὰρ ἦν ἀλουργές καὶ πόρπη χρυσῇ καὶ ξιφιδίων ἐλεφοντόκωπον.

I could wish that this passage were more conclusive; it is not clear whether the

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χλανίδιον is the same as the σπάργαλα or not. But from the fact that the χλανίς like the larger χλαῖνα was often used as a blanket (*Anthol. Pal.* 5. 173) I am inclined to think that the Dictionary is right. The use of the purple 'scarf' may be further supported by the story of Jason told in Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 114:

κρύβδα πέμπων σπαργάνους ἐν πορφυρέοις
νυκτὶ κοινάσαντες ὀδὸν Κρονίδα δὲ τράφειν
Χείρωνι δῶκαν.

We come now to the story of the herdsman from Corinth to whom the baby Oedipus had been given by the herdsman of Laius. Oedipus asks him (v. 1031):

'Suffering what pain was I when you saved me?'

To whom the messenger:

ποδὼν ἂν ἄρθρα μαρτυρήσειεν τὰ σά.

Oedipus exclaims:

'Alas, what is this old-time evil you make mention of?'

The messenger:

λύω σ' ἔχοντα διατόρους ποδοῖν ἀκμάς.

Oedipus answers:

καλὸν γ' ὄνειδος σπαργάνων ἀνελόμην,

'A fine stigma did I take upon me from my swaddling-clothes.' (If we may read καλὸν with Eustathius, as Prof. Earle does, rather than δεινόν).

In this dialogue two points are to be noticed: first, the same expression as in v. 718 for the ankles, ποδὼν ἄρθρα and secondly, the use of σπαργάνων which I have rendered literally 'from my swaddling-clothes.' Prof. Earle translates 'Yes, a fine reproach of infancy I took upon me,' meaning, I suppose, that the marks left by the wounds became in his manhood a cause of reproach. Hence if the περόνη used to bind his feet together had been taken by Laius from the child's σπάργαλα, Oedipus might truly say that these *stigmata* were taken up from his swaddling-clothes. Prof. Jebb says σπαργάνων in the genitive must be taken with ἀνελόμην and quotes Soph. *Electra* 1139: οὔτε πρὸς ἀνελόμην ἄθλιον βάρος, but translates 'from my swaddling-clothes' as meaning 'from the earliest days of my infancy.'

Finally, when Jocasta has killed herself, the house messenger comes out with the story of the blinding of Oedipus: (vv. 1268-1270)

ἀποσπίαςας γὰρ εἰμάτων χρυσηλάτους
περόνας ἀπ' αὐτῆς, αἰών ἐξεστέλλετο,
ἄρας ἔπαισεν ἄρθρα τῶν αὐτοῦ κύκλων.

We notice at once the use of the two words περόνας and ἄρθρα. Moreover, the expression ἄρθρα τῶν κύκλων with reference to the eyes, is very strange, and each editor has a different interpretation. Prof. Earle says it means the lids; Prof. Blaydes the pupils, and quotes the later scholiast: τὰ μέρη τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ὀφθαλμῶν ἐνθα ἀρμόζεται τὰ βλέφαρα: τουτέστι τὰς κόρας. Prof. Jebb says 'ἄρθρα can only mean the sockets of the eye-balls: he struck his eye-balls in their sockets is a way of saying that he struck them full.' Prof. White says, 'ἄρθρον first a joint, then more specifically the socket of the joint, then the ball as opposed to the socket.'

The use of these two words in this final narrative I do not believe to have been unintentional or without special force to Sophocles. As a baby the great king had had his feet pierced and yoked together with a περόνη, and now for his self-inflicted punishment the poet makes him choose exactly the same instrument. The cause of a reproach put upon him in infancy by others' hands now in his old age becomes at his own hands the instrument of a fitting punishment; and as if to intensify the impression and to cause us to remember the former scene, the poet uses a peculiar periphrasis, ἄρθρα τῶν κύκλων, unusual, yet similar in form to that other expression ἄρθρα ποδοῖν. Hence I do not believe we are justified in seeking here a meaning too exact, because it would seem that, while expressing clearly enough the eyes, the phrase was chosen more for its dramatic suggestiveness than for its physiological accuracy. While in the first place the περόνη had passed through the joints of his feet, now it passes through the joints of his eyes. Unconscious was he of the disgrace put upon him from his swaddling-clothes, and all unconsciously had he committed crimes for which his self-inflicted punishment led to peace.

But why does Sophocles make the wound of the περόνη come back upon the innocent sufferer? To answer that question we must understand the character and purpose of the play. Although technically guilty of monstrous crimes, Oedipus is morally innocent. He meets a fate that he seems not to deserve: a guiltless man, he suffers. Hence in the ordinary sense of the word there can be no Nemesis for him, unless it come as a part of that undeserved suffering which he owes to his involuntary error. Just such we find it. It seems as though Nemesis had changed her nature, as though

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her purpose was to reward the undeserving with evil. She is the opposite of herself, an inverted Nemesis. The punishment, terrible and yet undeserved, becomes to us a symbol of the deeper meaning of the drama, and the poet draws our attention to this fact by choosing words which recall

the time when the hero's blood was first shed in childhood.

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ON ARISTOPHANES *KNIGHTS* 413.

ἡπερβαλίσθαι σ' οἶμαι τούτοις, ἢ μάτην γ' ἂν ἀπομαγαδάλιας σιτούμενος τοσοῦτος ἐκτραφείην.

AFTER much reflection I find it impossible to believe that the optative can be right here as a substitute for a past tense of the indicative, and I suggest that we should read ἐκτραφείς ἦν.

The first thing is to shew that there is no parallel forthcoming for such an optative. In Homer indeed a use more or less similar (imitated two or three times by Virgil) is not very infrequent, but no argument lies from Homer to Aristophanes. Homer uses the subjunctive as a future; it does not follow that Aristophanes could do the same. Even tragedy has no such optatives, unless it be in one echo of a Homeric phrase hereafter to be mentioned; much less comedy.

An idiom with which it is natural to compare or confuse our passage is one fairly common in Herodotus, which may be illustrated from 1. 2. Ἕλληνας τινὰς... φασὶ... ἀρπάσαι τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν θυγατέρα Εὐρώπην· εἶσαν δ' ἂν οὗτοι Κρήτες and 1. 70 αὐτοὶ δὲ Σάμοι λέγουσι ὡς... ἀπέδοντο τὸν κρητῆρα ἐν Σάμῳ, ἰδιώτας δὲ ἄνδρας πριαμένους ἀναθεῖναι μιν ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον τάχα δ' ἂν καὶ οἱ ἀποδόμενοι λέγοιεν ἀπικόμενοι ἐς Σπάρτην ὡς ἀπαιρεθείσαν ὑπὸ Σαμίων. (For other passages see Stein on 1. 70¹ and Gildersleeve's *Syntax of Classical Greek* § 437.) To this idiom there is an English one (found I think also in other modern languages) exactly corresponding: 'these would probably be Cretans,' 'the vendors would perhaps say,' instead of 'were Cretans' and 'perhaps said.' It is distinguished by two things from the phrase before us in Aristophanes: (1) it occurs

¹ Stein seems to distinguish 1. 2 from the other passages, not making his meaning very clear, but probably thinking with Goodwin (*Moods and Tenses*, 238 and 443) that it means 'these would prove to have been Cretans,' i.e. would now prove, if we could go into it. It seems better to take this passage like the others.

always in a simple direct sentence, not in a more or less complex one as here: (2) what is more important, the optative is not, as in Aristophanes (and in Homer), an alternative for the indicative. In hardly one of the passages of Herodotus could we use a past tense of the indicative with ἂν. οὗτοι δ' ἂν ἦσαν Κρήτες would mean something quite different.

If therefore we find in Attic a passage or two parallel to those in Herodotus, they cannot fairly, even though in them an indicative would have been possible, be pleaded in defence of the line in the *Knights*. Thuc. 1. 9. 4, οὐκ ἂν οὖν νήσω ἐξω τῶν περικίδων· αὐταὶ δὲ οὐκ ἂν πολλὰ εἶεν—ἡπειρώτης ὢν ἐκράτει, εἰ μὴ τι καὶ ναυτικὸν εἶχεν may be classed as such, though the optative can quite well bear its usual sense, 'would not prove many, if we added them up.' Antiphon 4. 2. 5, πῶς ἂν ἐπιβουλεύσαιμι αὐτῷ, εἰ μὴ καὶ ἐπεβουλεύθην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ (which Blass alters, needlessly I think, to πῶς ἂν ἐπεβούλευσα τί αὐτῷ ὃ τι μὴ καὶ κ.τ.λ.), 'how' or 'why should I plot against him, if he had not plotted against me,' is exactly parallel to Herodotus 2. 11, κοῦ γε δὴ ἐν τῷ προανασιμωμένῳ χρόνῳ... οὐκ ἂν χωσθείη κόλπος καὶ πολλῷ μείζων ἐτι τούτου; Another example is *Menexenus* 240D ἐν τούτῳ δὴ ἂν τις γενόμενος γνοίη οἷοι ἄρα ἐτύγχανον ὄντες κ.τ.λ., which clearly refers to past time; and a fourth perhaps *Critias* 114 B, but there the reading is uncertain. In the Thucydides passage the indicative would be as impossible as in Herodotus; in Antiphon it might have been used, and with a slightly different meaning in the *Menexenus*. On the other hand the words of Lycurgus 138 καὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἂν μετὰσχοιεν² are not really parallel, for ἂν μετὰσχοιεν = ἂν ἐθέλοιεν μετὰσχεῖν.³

One or two Attic passages may also be

² Quoted as an instance by Mr. Platt in the *Journal of Philology*, Vol. 26, p. 87.

³ I have noticed one or two examples in Pausanias (1. 9. 5: 8. 12. 7).

quoted in which I take it that the optative is defensible on ordinary grounds as referring to future time, though the indicative might have taken its place with some change of meaning (referring to the present) and might perhaps have been more naturally used. Such are Soph. *Ant.* 505 *τούτοις τοῦτο πᾶσιν ἀνδάνειν λέγουτ' ἄν, εἰ μὴ γλώσσαν ἐγκλήῃ φόβος*, on which Jebb has no comment, and Eur. *Med.* 568 *οὐδ' ἄν σὺ φαίης, εἰ σε μὴ κνίζοι λόχος*. They mean virtually 'Every one would say so, if the fear of Creon were removed,' and 'Even you would not maintain it, if you could get rid of your jealousy.' In poetry this slight irregularity or straining of expression is pardonable enough. The important point to notice is that the speaker really has or might very well have the possible future in mind, and this clearly separates the two passages from that in Aristophanes. So in *Phaedo* 89 c *καὶ ἔγωγ' ἄν, εἰ σὺ εἶην καὶ με διαφύγοι ὁ λόγος, ἔνορκον ἄν ποιησαίμην κ.τ.λ.*: the optative is not irregular: it means 'if I were ever to find myself in your place, I would.' But in Eur. *Suppl.* 764, *φαίης ἄν, εἰ παρήσθ', ὅτ' ἡγάπα νεκρούς*, (before which a line is lost, if we are not with Lobbeck to delete 764 itself) I do not see how we are to justify the optative except by regarding it as an echo of the *φαίης ἄν* which occurs several times in Homer. We might perhaps compare it with the Homeric *εἰ οἶδα* etc. which Attic drama, even comedy, uses regardless of hiatus. But as far as I know it is found nowhere else in Attic.

Lastly there are a few places in which (if the MSS. are right, which is not by any means always certain) one clause is indicative and the other optative. The explanation seems to be that the speaker's point of view shifts. He might have spoken in the past throughout. He might have spoken in the future. Both being possible, he mixes the two together. Thus in Lycurgus 66 *εἴ τις ἔνα νόμον...ἐξαλείψειεν, εἴτ' ἀπολογοῖτο...ἄρ' οὐκ ἂν ἀπεκτείναντ' αὐτόν; ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι δίκαιός, εἴπερ ἐμέλλετε καὶ τὸν ἄλλους σώζειν*, and with a deliberate repetition of the confusion Lysias 10. 8 *εἰ μὲν τις σε εἴποι πατραλοῖαν ἢ μητραλοῖαν, ἡξίους ἂν αὐτὸν ὀφλεῖν σοι δίκην; εἰ δέ τις εἴποι ὡς τὴν τεκοῦσαν ἢ τὸν φύσαντα ἔτυπτες, ᾧον ἂν αὐτὸν ἀζήμιον δεῖν εἶναι*. The same explanation will apply, if the readings are right, to *Phaedrus* 251 A *ὡς θεὸν σέβεται καὶ, εἰ μὴ ἔδεδίδε τὴν τῆς σφόδρα μανίας δόξαν, θνῖσι ἂν ὡς ἀγάλματι*: *Alcib.* i. 111 E, *τί δ' εἰ βουλευθεῖμεν εἰδέσθαι...*, *ἄρ' ἱκανοὶ ἂν ἡμῖν ἦσαν διδάσκαλοι οἱ πολλοί*: *Diog.* L. 6. 59 *θανυμάζοντος τινὸς τὰ ἐν*

Σαμοθράκῃ ἀναθήματα ἔφη, Πολλῷ ἂν εἴη πλείω εἰ καὶ οἱ μὴ σωθέντες ἀνετίθεσαν (where however *εἴη* should probably be *ἦν*). To this type of sentence I should be inclined to assign *Iliad.* 2. 80:

εἰ μὲν τις τὸν ὄνειρον Ἀχαιῶν ἄλλος ἐνισπε, ψεύδός κεν φαίμεν καὶ νοσφίζοιμεθα μάλλον.

and *Odyssey* 1. 236

ἐπεὶ οὐ κε θανόντι περ ὦδ' ἀκαχοῖμην, εἰ μετὰ οἷς ἐτάροισι δάμῃ Τρώων ἐνὶ δήμῳ, ἢ φίλων ἐν χερσίν, ἐπεὶ πόλεμον τολύπευσε.

In the first Nestor mixes up 'if any one had said' and 'if any one were to say'; in the second Penelope says in effect 'I should not grieve so much; I say I should not have grieved so much, if,' etc. Such passages seem to me very different from the *καὶ νί κεν ἐνθ' ἀπόλοιο...* *εἰ μὴ ἄρ' ὀξὺ νόσησε* type, where a future contingency cannot possibly be in the speaker's mind.¹

Coming back now to the *Knights*, we shall find that the words of line 413 are quite different from the usages we have been examining. The optative cannot be taken, as in the latter of them, for an ordinary optative referring with or without some inconsistency to the future; nor has it, as in the former, any idea of what would be likely (= was likely) to occur under real past circumstances. To regard *ἐκτραφεῖν* as = *ἐκτεθραμμένος εἶην* or *φανείην* (Gildersleeve) is to invent a licence for which no parallel is adduced and which seems an undue strain on the possibilities of colloquial Attic Greek.

Rather than than acquiesce in anything so irregular, I think we ought to add to *ἐκτραφεῖν* one letter and turn it into *ἐκτραφεῖς ἦν*. First let us assume that those two words go closely together and are the analytical equivalent of *ἐξετράφην*. Such an equivalent seems quite admissible, though probably not to be paralleled from Aristophanes himself. Consider the following instances of an aorist participle with *εἰμί* or *γίγνομαι*:

1. Ionic Prose.

Herodotus 2. 10. 4 *ἔργα ἀποδεξάμενοι μεγάλα εἰσί*: 3. 27. 3 *οἱ δὲ ἔφραζον ὡς σφί*

¹ In Eur. *Or.* 1132

εἰ μὲν γὰρ εἰς γυναῖκα σωφρονεστέραν ξίφος μεθείμεν, δυσκλεῖς ἂν ἦν φόνος.

why does Dr. Goodwin (*M. T.* 508) make *μεθείμεν* optative? It is the indicative, like *ἀνείμεν* *Wasps* 574, *ἀνείτε* *O. T.* 1405. Xen. *Cyn.* 12. 22. (which he cites) is probably wrong.

θεὸς εἴη φανεῖς (Cobet θεὸς ἐπιφανείη): *ib.* 120. 1 ὑπὸ Κύρον κατασταθεῖς ἦν Σαρδίων ὑπαρχος Ὀροίτης: 4. 127. 1 οὐδέ τι νεώτερόν εἰμι ποιήσας: 7. 194. 3 ἐμελλε οὐ τὸ δεύτερον διαφυγὼν ἔσσεσθαι (περίεσσεσθαι Reiske, ἀθῶς ἔσσεσθαι Cobet).

Melissus fragm. 12 (Mullach) κῶς ἂν μετακοσμηθὲν τῶν ἑόντων τὴν εἴη;

2. Tragedy.

Soph. *O.T.* 90 οὔτε γὰρ θρασὺς | οὔτ' οὖν προδείσας εἰμί: 957 αὐτὸς μοι σὺν σημήνας γενοῦ: 970 οὔτω δ' ἂν θανὼν εἴη ἔξ' ἐμοῦ: 1146 οὐ σιωπήσας ἔσει; four examples in one play, to which add *O.C.* 816: *Ant.* 1067. *Aj.* 588: *Phil.* 773. There is a dubious instance in Aesch. *Suppl.* 460, and what seems a clear one in Eur. *Suppl.* 511 ἔσαρκίσας ἦν Ζεὺς ὁ τιμωρούμενος.

3. Attic Comedy.

Menander *Incert.* 475 M. 684 K.
ὅταν λέγῃς μὲν πολλά, μαθήνης δὲ μή,
τὸ σὺν διδάξας τοῦμὸν οὐ μαθὼν ἔσει.

4. Attic Prose.

Antiphon 3. 4. 4 ὁ παιδοτρίβης ἂν ἀποκτείνας αὐτὸν εἴη, and almost the same words in 2. 3. 8 (cf. *O.T.* 970 above, but some editors <ὁ> ἀποκτείνας very plausibly): 3. 4.

5 τὸ μεράκιον . . ἐστὶ τοῦ σκοποῦ ἁμαρτόν: [Lys.] 20. 1 οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐπιβουλευσάντες ἦσαν αὐτῶν: Plat. *Tim.* 47c ἐνεκα ἀρμονίας ἐστὶ δοθέν: *Soph.* 217c μὴ τοῖνον . . ἀπαρηγθεῖς γένη: *Pol.* 289 A ἦν γὰρ δικαιοτάτα μὲν ἂν τιθεῖν κατ' ἀρχὰς τὸ πρωτογενὲς εἶδος: less clear or certain instances in *Pol.* 265 CD and 272 E, *Laws* 961 B. In Thucydides 1. 138. 3 ἦν γὰρ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς βεβαιοτάτα δὴ φύσεως ἰσχὺν δηλώσας καὶ διαφερόντως τι ἐς αὐτὸ μᾶλλον ἑτέρον ἄξιος θανμάσαι Classen, Stahl, and Hude agree in separating δηλώσας from ἦν on the ground that there is no other apparent instance of this construction in Thucydides: cf. however, 4. 54. 3 ἦσαν δὲ τινες καὶ γενόμενοι τῷ Νικίᾳ λόγοι πρότερον πρὸς τινὰς τῶν Κυθηρίων.¹

These examples are probably enough to remove any *a priori* objection to the construction. There is however no necessity to take the words of Aristophanes in this way. The construction may be μάτην γ' ἂν ἦν τοσοῦτος, with ἐκτραφεῖς either standing alone, 'when fullgrown,' or going with ἀπομαγαθίας σιτούμενος, 'brought up on a diet of dog's bits,' for the two participles need not be of the same tense.

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¹ I have taken this and one other passage from Mr. Gildersleeve's *Syntax* § 293.

NOTES ON THE ANTI-MACEDONIAN SPEECHES OF DEMOSTHENES.

Ol. 1. 1 ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας τύχης ὑπολαμβάνω πολλὰ τῶν δεόντων ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμ' ἐνίοις ἐπελθεῖν ἂν εἰπείν.

In this construction it is surely impossible to dispense with the article that would naturally accompany πολλὰ . . ἐπελθεῖν ἂν εἰπείν, just as in § 10 we read τὸ μὲν γὰρ πόλλ' ἀπολωλεκέναι κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀμελείας ἂν τις θεῖη δικαίως. Read <τὸ> πολλὰ. τό would easily be lost before πο.

20 δεῖ δὲ χρημάτων.

It is well known that δέ and γάρ get interchanged. Logic here seems to require γάρ.

26 τίς αὐτὸν κωλύσει δεῦρο βαδίζοντα; Θηβαῖοι; μὴ λίαν πικρὸν εἰπείν ἦ, καὶ συνεισβαλοῦσιν ἐτοίμως. ἀλλὰ Φωκεῖς;

'I wish it were not (I fear it may be) too harsh to say' (what is only too true) is Sandys' rendering. (1) This use of μὴ is however not found in Demosthenes or (I think) any

other orator, being practically confined to Plato. (2) The sense is unsatisfactory. The editors seem to have a notion that the words are more or less equivalent to those of *Phil.* 3. 1 δέδοικα μὴ βλάβῃς μὲν εἰπείν, ἀληθεῖς δ' ἦ, and mean something like 'harsh though it be to say'; but they cannot be twisted into that.

Demosthenes is quite fond of putting a rhetorical question to his adversary, or his audience, and suggesting an answer which he immediately proceeds to demolish. Thus we read in *Mid.* 41 ποῖα γὰρ πρόφασις, τίς ἀνθρωπίνῃ καὶ μετρία σκῆψις φανέται τῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτῷ; ὀργὴ νῆ Δία; καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο τυχὸν λέξει. ἀλλὰ κ.τ.λ. *Chers.* 17 τί ποιήσομεν, ἂν ἐπὶ Χερσονήσῳ ἦ; κρινοῦμεν Διοπίθῃ νῆ Δία. καὶ τί τὰ πράγματ' ἐστὶ βελτίω; *De Cor.* 101 τί ἐμελλον κελύσειν ἢ τί συμβουλευσεν αὐτῇ ποιεῖν; μνησικακεῖν νῆ Δία . . . καὶ τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀπέκτεινεν με δικαίως, εἰ κ.τ.λ. For these and many other passages see Rehdantz' *Index* p. 35.

Anyone who has read thus far will perhaps have seen what I wish to suggest, namely that *μη λίσαν* is a corruption of the *νή Δία* (ΜΗΔΙΑ, ΝΗΔΙΑ) which occurs so constantly in parallel passages. So Herwerden (and I myself, not knowing that he had anticipated me) suggested some time back that in Plat. *Rep.* 607 B the absurd *τῶν Δία σοφῶν* should be *τῶν λίσαν σοφῶν*. If we adopt *νή Δία* here, a slight further change will be necessary. I should suggest *τίς αὐτὸν κωλύσει δέυρο βαδίζοντα*; *Θηβαῖοι νή Δία· κἂν πικρὸν εἰπὴν ἤ, καὶ συνεισβαλοῦσιν εἰτόμιμος*.

Ol. 2. 2 δὲ τοῖνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦτ' ἤδη σκοπεῖν αὐτοὺς, ὅπως μὴ χείρους περὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς εἶναι δόξωμεν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων.

ib. 22 ἐβελόντων ἂ προσήκει ποιεῖν ἑμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ κατὰ μικρόν.

ib. 25 μελλόντων αὐτῶν, ἐτέρους τινὰς ἐλπίζόντων πράξειν, αἰτωμένων ἀλλήλους, κ.τ.λ.

In 22 *αὐτῶν* is omitted by Dionysius and Gregory of Corinth: in 25 S alone has *αὐτῶν*, other MSS. *ἑμῶν*. In all three places some modern critics have wished to omit *αὐτοὺς* or *αὐτῶν*, e.g. Cobet in 25. In 2 the *αὐτοὺς* seems very pointless, and with the *ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς* immediately following distinctly objectionable: in 22 I can hardly think *αὐτῶν* right, all things considered. Perhaps for *αὐτοὺς* and *αὐτῶν* we might think of substituting *πάντας* and *πάντων*, which will be found more suitable. It is curious that in all three places the word preceding ends with a *v*. *v* and *π* are liable to confusion (Bast *Comm. Pal.* p. 747), and the *v* might therefore absorb a *π*.

In Plutarch's *Demetrius* 30 τοῦ καθεστῆ-κότος ἐξέστη δὲ ὀργὴν αὐτοῦ should we not read *παντός* for *αὐτοῦ*, *he lost all composure*? The final *v* recurs there.

3 ἡμῖν δ' οὐκὶ καλῶς πεπράχθαι.

Do not *ἡμᾶς* preceding and *ἡμεῖς* following point to *ἡμῖν*?

14 ὑπὴρξέ ποθ' ἡμῖν ἐπὶ Τιμοθέου πρὸς Ὀλυνθίους (ἢ Μακεδονικὴ δύναμις)· πάλιν αὖ πρὸς Ποτειδαίαν Ὀλυνθίοις ἐφάνη τι τοῦτο συναμφότερον.

So the words stand in most editions, though Madvig's stop after *Ὀλυνθίοις* is sometimes adopted now. I have no doubt that it is right, but it does not give us quite all we want. The scholiast's explanation of *συναμφότερον* as *σὺν ἄλλῳ τινὶ γεγόμενον* ought not to have been accepted by modern scholars in view of the use and the plain

meaning of the word. After the last letters of *τοῦτο* a *τό* has been lost. Demosthenes wrote *ἐφάνη τι τοῦτο* <τὸ> *συναμφότερον*, *this combination*.

17 οἱ δὲ δὴ περὶ αὐτὸν ὄντες ξένοι καὶ πεζέταιροι δόξαν μὲν ἔχονσ' ὥς εἰσὶ θαυμαστοὶ καὶ συγκεκροτημένοι τὰ τοῦ πολέμου.

Even if we render *θαυμαστοὶ* by *admirable* and not by *wonderful*, which is rather its meaning, do we not feel that a bare *συγκεκροτημένοι* is not enough to keep it company? That troops are *σ.* is not enough to make them deserve the epithet *θαυμαστοὶ*, and we should at least expect to find with *σ.* some heightening adverb like *εὖ* or *κάλλιστα*.

I suggest however, not that any adverb or adverbial expression has actually been omitted, but that Demosthenes wrote *θαυμαστῶς* (or *θαυμασίως*) ὥς *συγκεκροτημένοι*, as in the *πρὸς Ἀφροβον* I he writes *θαυμασίως ἂν ὥς ἠελαβούμην*, in the *πρὸς Λάκριτον* 16 λόγους *θαυμασίως ὥς πθανούς*, and in the *πρὸς Πανταίνετον* 10 *θαυμαστῶς ὥς ἐλυπήθην*. *καὶ* and *ὥς* are very liable to interchange (Bast *u. s.* p. 24 and elsewhere), and, *καὶ* once written here, the adverb would easily become an adjective.¹

Ol. 3. 1 οὐδὲν οὖν ἄλλο μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα λέγοντες ἢ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν περὶ ἧς βουλευέσθε οὐκὶ τὴν οὖσαν παριστάντες ἡμῖν ἀμαρτάνειν.

As it stands, this is a very clumsy expression. Has no one ever suggested the obvious and idiomatic future *βουλεύσεσθε*, 'bringing before you for consideration'?

Unless I am much mistaken, a similar correction is to be made twice at least in the First Philippic. In § 46 ὅταν γὰρ ἡγήται μὲν ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀθλίων ἀπομίσθων ξένων, οἱ δ' ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν ἐκείνος πράξῃ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ψευδόμενοι ῥηδίως ἐνθαδ' ὦσιν, idiom in the same way requires or at least very strongly suggests *ψευσόμενοι*. In 43 εἴτα τοῦτ' ἀνα-

¹ Is not the puzzling expression in Soph. *Phil.* 300 φέρε', ὦ τέκνον, νῦν καὶ τὸ τῆς νήσου μάθης. ταῦτ' πελάξει ναυβάτης οὐδεὶς ἐκάν.

to be corrected in the same way by substituting *ὥς* for *καὶ*? I cannot indeed produce any exact parallel to *φέρε, ὥς μάθης*; but, if Plato could use the unusual phrase *φέρε, εἰάν* (*Crat.* 430 A *φέρε δὲ, εἰάν πῃ διαλαχθῶμεν, ὦ Κρατύλε· ἄρ' οὐ κ.τ.λ. Rep.* 453 E *φέρε δὲ, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, εἰάν πῃ εὐρωμεν τὴν ἔξοδον· ὠμολογοῦμεν γὰρ δὲ κ.τ.λ.* Cf. Dion Chrys. 13.29 *φέρε, ἂν... διαλέγωμαι*. Dion has also occasionally, e.g. 31, 93 and 163, *φέρε εἰπεῖν, say, let us say*), there would seem to be nothing against the possibility of *φέρε, ὥς* in a poet. Perhaps the line would be best written with something less than a full stop at *μάθης*, and we may supply, if we like, *let me tell you*.

μενούμεν; καὶ τριήρεις κενὺς καὶ τὰς παρὰ τοῦ δέινος ἐλπίδας ἂν ἀποστείλῃτε πάντ' ἔχειν οἰσθε καλῶς; οὐκ ἐμβησόμεθ' ; οὐκ ἔξιμεν αὐτοὶ κ.τ.λ. the future tenses before and after, the really future meaning of ἂν ἀποστείλῃτε, and the manifest sense point in the strongest way to ἔξειν, unless indeed we should read οἰήσεσθε, which is less likely. If these corrections are allowed to be probable, I should be inclined to go on and say that in 32 ὑπάρχει δ' ὑμῖν χεῖμαδιφ μὲν χρῆσθαι τῇ δυνάμει Λήμνῳ καὶ Θάσω καὶ Σκιάθῳ... ἐν αἷς καὶ λιμένες καὶ σῖτος καὶ ἅ χρῆ στρατεῖματι πάνθ' ὑπάρχει, which is matched with a future in the δέ clause (ῥάδιως ἔσται), one or other ὑπάρχει should be ὑπάρξει, both for symmetry and to avoid ὑπάρχει awkwardly occurring twice. Cf. Dobree's correction of ἔξω to ἔχω in *Frogs* 1230, where ἔξει immediately follows. For choice I would write ὑπάρξει δ' ὑμῖν, though strict symmetry would perhaps rather favour πάνθ' ὑπάρξει.

This corruption of a future to a present is one of the most inveterate tendencies of MSS. At different times I have pointed out a good many passages needing correction, and I have many more to point out when opportunity offers.

28 ἔχθρὸν δ' ἐφ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς τηλικούτων ἡσκήκαμεν.

ἡσκήκαμεν is not a suitable word at all. Will anyone really defend it against what I should like to read in its place, ἡξήκαμεν? *Ol.* 1. 9 ἡξήσαμεν... Φίλιππον ἡμῖς; 2. 49 μέγας ἡξήθη and *ib.* 6 ἡξήμενον, 7 ἡξήθη; *Phil.* 1. 104 ἐπηξήσεται. *Phil.* 3. 52 εἰς δ' ἀγῶν' ἄμεινον ἡμῶν ἐκείνος ἡσκηται is no parallel.

31 ἀγαπῶντες ἐν μεταδιδώσι... ἡ... πέμψωσι.

The difference of present and aorist here is much more than that of a 'continuous series' and a 'single incident' (Sandys). ἐάν with aorist means 'if they have done so and so,' while ἐάν with present means 'if they do' or 'are doing it.' It follows, I think, that we should either read μεταδῶσι, for which there is authority, or change πέμψωσι to a present. The mixture of times, though not impossible, would be awkward. The parallel passage 13. 31 favours the present tense, for all MSS. seem to have μεταδιδώσι there.

34 οὐκοῦν σὺ μισθοφορὰν λέγεις; φήσιν τις καὶ παραχρήμα γε τὴν αὐτὴν σύνταξιν ἄπαντων... ἡ τῶν κοινῶν ἕκαστος τὸ μέρος λαμβάνων ὅσον δέοιθ' ἡ πόλις τοῦθ' ὑπάρχει (or τοῦτο παρέχει). ἔξεστιν ἄγειν ἡσυχίαν; οἱκοί

μένειν βελτίων... συμβαίνει τι τοιοῦτον οἶον καὶ τὰ νῦν; στρατιώτης αὐτὸς ὑπάρχων... εἰς τάξιν ἤγαγον τὴν πόλιν... οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπου μὴδὲν ἐγὼ ποιοῦσιν τὰ τῶν ποιοῦντων εἶπον ὡς δεῖ νέμειν.

τοῦτο παρέχει, which the text of Dion. H. 609 gives us, seems a more usual and likely expression. But, if we adopt it, I should like to bring the later ὑπάρχων into harmony with it by reading στρατιώτην αὐτὸν παρέχων. Though in each place the use of ὑπάρχω as distinct from εἶναι can probably be justified, it needs justification and is perhaps a little suspicious. Cf. παρασχέιν ἕκαστον αὐτὸν κ.τ.λ. in the similar context of 13. 3-4.

Great difficulty attaches to the use of the optatives after ἡν, and no even plausible account of them has been given. Observing the aorist tenses (ἤγαγον, εἶπον) which follow a little later, I should suggest that we read ἔλεγε for λέγει and thus remove all difficulty as far as the optatives go. But then what is the meaning of the past tense ἔλεγε; I do not know; but neither does any one know what is the meaning of ἤγαγον and εἶπον. The obscurity is not increased in any way by ἔλεγε, while it accounts for the optatives, and renders παραχρήμα to my mind more natural. On the other hand 1. 19 τί οὖν; ἂν τις εἴποι, σὺ γράφεις ταῦτ' εἶναι στρατιωτικά, may be quoted in favour of λέγει, which in itself is no doubt easier.

36 μὴ παραχωρεῖν τῆς τάξεως ἢν ὑμῖν οἱ πρόγονοι τῆς ἀρετῆς... κτησάμενοι κατέλιπον.

Entirely disbelieving that τῆς ἀρετῆς can depend on ἢν, I suggest either <διά> τῆς ἀρετῆς or τῇ ἀρετῇ.

Phil. 1. 44 οὐκ ἔξιμεν αὐτοὶ μέρει γέ τινα στρατιωτῶν οἰκείων νῦν;

Should we write οἰκείῳ? A possible cause of error is obvious in the ν of νῦν, but really ων and φ are almost freely interchangeable.

De Pace. 11 οὐδὲ προσποιήσομαι δι' οὐδὲν ἄλλο γινώσκων καὶ προαισθάνεσθαι πλὴν δι' ἂν ὑμῖν εἴπω δύο· ἐν μὲν κ.τ.λ.

The editors seem hardly to realise the difficulty of δι' ἂν ὑμῖν εἴπω δύο, 'whatever two things I shall have said.' It is surely nonsense to say 'my intelligence and foresight are due to whatever two reasons I shall be pleased to assign.' The words cannot possibly mean 'the two things I am about to state': ἂν or ἂν must be indefinite. It seems likely that ἂν ὑμῖν εἴπω has strayed by accident from the line before,

and that we should read δι' οὐδέν ἄλλο γινώσκειν ἂν ὑμῖν εἶπω καὶ προαισθάνεσθαι πλὴν διὰ δύο· ἐν μὲν κ.τ.λ.

In a somewhat similar way καὶ ὅποι τις ἂν εἴποι in *Ol.* 1. 13 has evidently grown out of ἂν τις εἴποι in the next line.

20 οὐδέ γε τῶν αὐτοῖς πεπονημένων ὕστατον ἐλθόντα τὴν δόξαν ἔχουν.

It is not easy to understand ὕστατον. Read ὕστερον.

24 ἄλλ' ὥς οὔτε πράξομεν οὐδὲν ἀνάξιον ἡμῶν αὐτῶν οὔτ' ἔσται πόλεμος. . τοῦτ' οἶμαι δεῖν ποιεῖν. ('δεῖν ποιεῖν S: δείξιν or δείξει vulgo: δεῖν ἐννοεῖν Liebhold' says Dr. Sandys).

I doubt whether ὥς with a future, even when resumed in a τοῦτο, can be made to depend on ποιεῖν. As ὥς comes at the beginning, the verb on which it was to depend must have been foreseen, and, whatever a writer like Xenophon might do, it is very questionable if Demosthenes would have written ποιεῖν ὥς with a future. (Cf. however the construction of ὅπως in § 13.) Observe further the clumsiness of bringing the two verbs ποιεῖν and πράττειν thus together, ποιεῖν ὥς πράξομεν οὐδέν. For ποιεῖν we may perhaps read σκοπεῖν, which would be the natural word for Demosthenes to use. A clear case of the same corruption is Plutarch *De Exilio* 606 c τοῦ δὲ θυσσαμένου καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα κωλύειν φάσκοντος, ἐπετίμηνεν εἰπὼν 'σὺ τί κρέας λέγει ποιεῖς, οὐ τί νοῦν ἔχων ἄνθρωπος,' where Madvig restored σκοπεῖς for ποιεῖς.

Phil. 2. 3 οἶα ποιεῖ δ' ὥς δεῖν καὶ τοιαῦτα διεξερχόμεθα.

I should prefer ὅσα to οἶα. The mistake is fairly common.

11 μετὰ ταῦτα πράξαντες ταῦθ' ἂ πάντες ἀεὶ γλίσχονται λέγειν, ἀξίως δ' οὐδεὶς εἰπεῖν δεδύνηται.

Here on the other hand I should like to write τοιαῦθ' for ταῦθ'. Demosthenes' ear would probably have shrunk from ταῦθ' just after ταῦτα (as from ὑπάρχει twice over in *Phil.* 1. 32 above), and τοιαῦτα is at least as proper.

25 τί ζητεῖτ'; ἔφη· ἐλευθερίαν.

Should we not point ἐλευθερίαν as a question?

31 τί δὴ ταῦτα νῦν λέγω; . . . οὐχ ἵν' εἰς λουδορίαν ἐμπεσὼν ἐμαντῶ μὲν ἐξ ἴσου λόγον παρ' ὑμῖν ποιήσω, τοῖς δὲ κ.τ.λ.

For ἐμαντῶ λόγον ποιήσω Dr. Sandys offers the two alternatives that the words = ἵνα λόγον τύχω, and that they = ἵνα λόγον ποιήσωμαι. Besides obvious objections to both alternatives, the context indicates, I think, that ἵνα should introduce something in itself plainly undesirable. Not merely the εἰς λουδορίαν ἐμπεσὼν, but the main predicate should be of this character, as in the parallel clauses. Such a sense and one otherwise unexceptionable, as far as I see, might be obtained for these notoriously difficult words by the slight and familiar correction of λόγον to ψόγον. ψόγον ἐμαντῶ ποιεῖν, *bring blame on myself*, would seem to be as good Greek as πόλεμον ποιεῖν *bring about a war*, which occurs repeatedly, for instance, in the speech about the Chersonese (§§ 7, 8, etc.). Add such phrases as *ib.* 52 ἡσυχίαν ποιῶσιν ἐκείνῳ πράττειν ὃ τι βούλεται: *Phil.* 4. 7 ἢ καθ' ἡμέραν ῥαστώνῃ . . . οὐκ ἐφ' ἐκάστου τῶν ἀμελουμένων ποιεῖ τὴν αἴσθησιν εὐθέως: *Plat. Apol.* 20 D τί ποτ' ἔστιν τοῦτο ὃ ἐμοὶ πεποιόρην τό τε ὄνομα καὶ τὴν διαβολήν; *Lives* 937 c τὴν νίκην τῷ ἐλόντι πεποιημένοι. But I think ὅχλον παρ' ὑμῖν ποιήσω would be equally admissible and it is perhaps even more likely. In *Thuc.* 7. 56. 4 ὅχλος is now often read by conjecture for λόγον.

Cherson. 5. To the proposals for supplementing ἔστι δέ I would add the suggestion ἔστι δ' <ὥδι>. Plato makes free use of ἔστιν οὕτως, and ὥδι, a favourite expression with Demosthenes, would seem equally possible, though I do not know any precise parallel but *Il.* 18. 266 ὥδε γὰρ ἔσται: *Soph. El.* 573 ὥδ' ἦν τὰ κείνης θύματα.

Phil. 3. 48 οὕτω δ' ἀρχαίως εἶχον . . . ὥστ' οὐδὲ χρημάτων ὠνεῖσθαι παρ' οὐδενὸς οὐδέν.

The difficulty of ὥστ' οὐ, not ὥστε μὴ, here is well known. Has it ever been suggested that we could remove it by writing εἶχον for εἶχον? εἶχον would depend on ἀκούω in the previous sentence, and, these words then becoming *oratio obliqua*, the objection to οὐ would disappear. In 12. 4 the correction of εἶργειν to εἶργον seems certain.

68 τίς γὰρ ἂν ᾧθη ταῦτα γενέσθαι;

If ἂν is to be taken with ᾧθη, as seems natural, the other words cannot be quite right. 'Who would have thought it would happen?' requires after ἂν ᾧθη either ταῦτ' ἂν γενέσθαι or ταῦτα γενήσεσθαι. It is not Greek to write οἶμαι ταῦτα γενέσθαι for 'I expect it, think it likely, to happen.' It is just possible that the reading of the MSS.

is right, *ἀν* going with *γενέσθαι*; but I suspect the orator said *γενήσεσθαι*.

Phil. 4. 31 ὁ δὲ λοιπὸν ἐστὶ καὶ πάλα μὲν ἔδει, διαφεύγει δ' οὐδὲ νῦν, τοῦτ' ἐρῶ.

The present tense *διαφεύγει* is odd. Should we not read *διαπέφευγε*?

49 οὐδένες ἐν μείζονι κινδύνῳ τῶν πάντων εἰσὶν ὑμῶν, οὐ μόνον τῷ μάλισθ' ὑμῖν ἐπιβουλεύειν Φίλιππον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ πάντων ἀργότατ' αὐτοὶ διακείσθαι.

The two English editions I have looked at make no comment on the fact that grammar requires *αὐτοῖς* for *αὐτοί*. We must either read the accusative or say that the nominative is put as though preceded by *ὑμεῖς ἐν μεγίστῳ πάντων ἐστὲ κινδύνῳ*. Irregular accusatives in this sort of case are occasionally found: I do not know an instance of an irregular nominative quite parallel to this, though Herod 1. 2. 5: *Xen. Hell.* 5. 4. 1: Thuc. 5. 41. 2: 8. 104. 4: and especially Thuc. 8. 48. 5 and 75. 2 may be compared.

The preceding suggestions include three or four in which I have sought to restore grammar or sense by the addition of a word, in two cases the article. I should like to conclude my notes on these speeches by putting together a few other passages which seem to me to have suffered worse loss in the same way. About half of them are recognised difficulties, for which no convincing solution has been put forward. I do not know that in any of them the conjecture of a word or two missing has been made. I will write them out *seriatim* as I think they might stand restored, premising that any such attempt at restoration can of course in most cases only be approximate, and I will then add a few remarks.

Ol. 1. 21 οὐτ' ἂν ἐξήνεγκε τὸν πόλεμόν ποτε τοῦτον ἐκεῖνος, εἰ πολεμεῖν ψήθη δέξαι αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐπιὼν <ἀπηγγέλλετο> ἅπαντα τότε ἤλπιζεν τὰ πράγματ' ἀναρῆσεσθαι, κατὰ διέψευσται.

Ol. 2. 2 ὥς ἐστὶ τῶν αἰσχυρῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ τῶν αἰσχίστων, μὴ μόνον πόλεων καὶ τόπων ὧν ἡμῖν ποτε κύριοι φαίνεσθαι προεμένους <ἀμελεῖν> (or <μὴ φροντίζειν>) ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης παρασκευασθέντων συμμάχων καὶ καυῶν.

ib. 18 εἰ μὲν γὰρ τις ἀνὴρ ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτοῖς οἷος ἔμπειρος <εἶναι> πολέμου καὶ ἀγώνων.

ib. 28 ἐνταῦθα μὲν ἐστὶ τὰθ' ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐστὶν ὁ πόλεμος ὑμέτερα, <Πύδνα, Ποτειδαία,>

'Αμφίπολιν· καὶ ληφθῆ, παραχρῆμ' ὑμεῖς κομείσθε· οἱ δὲ κίνδυνοι τῶν ἐφεστηκότων ἴδιοι, μισθὸς δ' οὐκ ἐστὶν· ἐκεῖ δὲ κίνδυνος μὲν ἐλάττους, τὰ δὲ λήμματα τῶν ἐφεστηκότων καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, Λάμψακος, Σίγειον, τὰ πλοῖ' ἅ συνλώσιν.

Ol. 3. 15 καὶ γὰρ εἰπεῖν τὰ δέοντα παρ' ὑμῖν εἰσὶν <τινες>, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δυνάμενοι, καὶ γνῶναι πάντων ὑμεῖς οὐκ ἐξυτάτοι τὰ ρηθέντα. [εἰσὶ wanting in S.]

ib. 26 οὐ γὰρ εἰς περιουσίαν <ιδίαν> ἐπράττετ' αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλὰ τὸ κοινὸν αὐξεν ἕκαστος ὥστε δεῖν.

Phil. 1. 48 οἱ μὲν περιούντες μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φασὶ Φίλιππον πρᾶττειν τὴν Θηβαίων κατάλυσιν. . . οἱ δ' ὥς πρέσβεις πέπομφεν ὥς βασιλέα, οἱ δ' ἐν Ἰλλυρίῳ πόλεις τειρίζουν, οἱ δὲ λόγους πλάττοντες <ἐτέρους> ἕκαστος περιερχόμεθα.

Phil. 2. 22 ἀλλὰ μὲν <ὡς> γέγονεν ταῦτα καὶ πᾶσιν ἐστὶν εἰδέναι.

Chers. 32 ἂν μὲν οὖν τὸν αἴτιον <τοιούτων> εἴη τις, ὃν ἴσθ' ὅτι λήψεσθε παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς, φάτε καὶ βούλεσθε· ἂν δὲ τοιούτων λέγη τις, ὃν κ.τ.λ. οὐκ ἔχετ' οἶμαι τί ποιήσετε.

Ol. 1. 21 The meaning required seems to be: he never expected to be compelled actually to carry on a war: he thought the mere rumour of his coming would bear down opposition and give everything into his hands. But this can hardly be got out of ὥς ἐπιὼν, 'he thought to carry everything before him, as being about to attack.' Cf. *Ol.* 3. 4 ἀπηγγέλλθη . . . πολιορκῶν: Thuc. 3. 16. 2 ἡγγέλλοντο αἱ νῆες τὴν περιοικίδα πορθοῦσαι.

2. 2 It is certain the genitives cannot be governed by *προεμένους*. If the passage is right, they must be attracted into the case of the relative *ὧν*. I have only noted two places in Demosthenes (though there may be others) where anything like this construction occurs: 18. 16 ἐτέρῳ δ' ὅφω κακὸν τι δώσομεν ζητεῖν, and 49. 3 ὥστε . . . οὐ μόνον τὰ ἐαυτοῦ κομείσθαι ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλου εἰ του δέοιτο πρὸς Τιμόθεον πρᾶξαι ὑπάρξειν αὐτῷ. These are obviously very different from our passage, even if they can be called examples of the construction at all. ἄλλου and probably ἐτέρῳ go so closely with the other pronoun that they need hardly be brought into any relation with the infinitive. In prose moreover and even in poetry it is almost always nominative or accusative, not genitive or dative, that stands in this sort of attraction. In our passage the difficulty

is greatly enhanced by the genitive continuing in τῶν κ.τ.λ. I conclude therefore that some such expression as ἀμελεῖν, ὀλιγωρεῖν, μηδὲν φροντίζειν has been lost.

2. 18 The only parallel cited for οἷος ἔμπερος is Ar. *Wasps* 970 ὁ δ' ἕτερος οἷός ἐστιν οἰκουρὸς μόνον, where since Brunck οἰκουρεῖν has often been read. The nominative is not really intelligible, and it would be easy for εἶναι to drop out (so probably εἰσὶ in 3. 15).

2. 28 Ἀμφίπολις κἄν ληφθῇ, as it is usually written (Madvig and Blass in some of his texts omit Ἀμφίπολις altogether), throws an unreasonable emphasis on the name, which requires none at all. The parallel sentence with Δάμψακος, Σίγειον, τὰ πλοῖα strongly suggests, I think, that one or two names have dropped out.

3. 26 By itself εἰς περιουσίαν is in no way contrasted with τὸ κοινὸν αὐξεν. There may be a surplus in the treasury as well as in private hands.

Chers. 32 Is the meaning sufficiently expressed without such a τοιοῦτον as appears in the parallel clause? The resemblance in letters to τὸν αἵτιον would facilitate its omission.

There are one or two other places where the insertion of a word or two might make things easier (e.g. *Ol.* 1. 2 an infinitive like φυλάττεσθαι before μὴ πάθῃτε: 2. 29 a participle with ὥς τούτους: 3. 7 something after ἡμεῖς); but I do not wish to propose it.

I will add a brief appendix on one passage in the *de Halonnese* and two in the *Letter of Philip*.

7. 13 τὰ σύμβολα ταῦτα γίνεται εἰς ὑποδοχὴν τοῦ μηδ' ἀμφισβητῆσαι εὐλόγως ὑμᾶς ἔτι Ποτειδαίας, 'as an admission that you cannot lay reasonable claim any further to Potidaea.' The sense requires μηδ' <ἀν> ἀμφισβητῆσαι. ἀν dropped out before αμ. The future ἀμφισβητήσεν would be less suitable. So in 16. 5 it would seem necessary to insert ἀν before ἀντιπάλους.

12. 5 ὥστ' ἔγωγ' ἀπορῶ τί ποτ' ἔσται καίνωτερον ἐὰν ὁμολογήσῃτέ μοι πολεμεῖν· καὶ γὰρ ὅτε φανερώς διεφερόμεθα, ληστὰς ἐξεπέμπετε καὶ τοὺς πλείοντας ὥς ὑμᾶς ἐπωλεῖτε, τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐβοηθεῖτε, τὴν χώραν μου κακῶς ἐποιεῖτε.

Read ὥτ' <οὐ> φανερώς διεφερόμεθα. The time referred to is from 346 to 340, when Philip and Athens in spite of acts of hostility on both sides were not at open variance and war. Cf. 18. 43, 44.

12. 14 προὔκαλούμεν κριθῆναι περὶ τούτων πρὸς ὑμᾶς.

The meaning is clearly the same as that expressed in 16 by προκαλούμενος ὑμᾶς εἰς κρίσιν ἔλθειν, and it follows that πρὸς ὑμᾶς should be πρὸς ἡμᾶς. This would be evident even without the parallel passage. In the *Letter* ἡμεῖς is constantly used of Philip.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

NOTES ON JULIAN'S FIRST ORATION.

4 A. οὐδ' ὥσπερ ἐκ τινος τραγικῆς μηχανῆς, φησί. 'The law does not ordain any form of words, nor, like a *deus ex machina*, bid men seek virtue and fly vice.' What then is φησί? Neither the law nor any other noun in the neighbourhood can be its subject, but the remedy is simple; read φασί. Then φασὶ stands for ὡς φασι, as people have it. This idiom is of course common enough, e.g. Theocritus xii. 13, ὁ μὲν εἰσπνιγλος, φαίη χ' ὀμνυκλαῖζων, xv. 125, μαλακώτεροι ἔπνω, ἃ Μίλατος ἐρεῖ, and it is particularly common in Julian, but seems to have misled his latest and generally excellent editor, Hertlein. At least at 32 A, ὁ δὲ...εἷζας ὥς ποτε, φασί, τῇ Θετταλικῇ περὶ ἀνάγκῃ, Hertlein actually wants to change φασὶ to φησί. At 145 D this φησὶν positively appears in his text in place

of the old vulgate φασίν. At 148 B he remarks 'ego φασὶ deleverim.' Yet by the time he has got to 225 C he is of a better mind and restores φασίν rightly for φησίν of the MSS. The same correction was also made by Hercher at 402 D. Other instances of this usage are to be found at 27 B, 173 B, 200 D, 244 B, 307 B, 366 B, 369 B, 376 D, 389 C, 411 B, 443 D, 444 A, and another instance of confusion between φησί and φασὶ in the MSS. at 444 D.

9 D. καὶ πολλῶν αὐτοκρατόρων οὐχὶ δὲ ἐνὸς μητέρα, ὧν ὁ μὲν τις τῷ πατρὶ συγκατεργάσατο τὸν πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους πόλεμον κ.τ.λ. Julian is speaking of the mother and brothers of Constantius, to whom he is writing this oration. If he said ὁ μὲν τις, it could hardly

mean anything but 'one of your brothers, I really don't quite know which,' and that is absurd. He must have said *ὁ μὲν εἰς*. For the correct use of *ὁ μὲν τις* see 11 B.

12 B. *κρατοῦντων δὲ ἱππεῦσι τῶν πολεμίων, ὥρα μηχανᾶσθαι τοῖς μειρακίους σωτηρίας τρόπον δυσεπινόητον*. Julian is here criticising the proposal of Plato that the children of the guardians should be taken on horses to see their parents fight. It would be all very well, he remarks, if the enemy were all infantry, but if they had a superiority in cavalry, what then? *ὥρα μηχανᾶσθαι κ.τ.λ.* Now in this sentence anyone will feel that there is something wrong about *ὥρα* and *δυσεπινόητον*. No one who knows his Julian will suppose him likely to have expressed his meaning by saying 'it will be time to devise a difficult way,' when he ought to have said either, 'it will be time to devise a way,' or else 'it will be difficult to devise a way.' And if we look up the passage in his mind, *Rep.* 465 c, we find *προσμηχανᾶσθαι δ' αὐτοῖς ὠφέλειαν*, and hence we may perhaps suppose that Julian also wrote *προσμηχανᾶσθαι*. As one form of *π* is just an *ω* with a lid to it, *προς* might conceivably be corrupted to *ὥρα*. A scribe finding what he thought to be *ωρος* would naturally alter it to *ὥρα*.

15 C. *τὸ δὲ ἦν, οὐ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἐξελεῖν τῶν νέων, ἀλλὰ τὸ λαθεῖν πειρᾶσθαι ἰδρῶτα προστάτευν*. We cannot praise the Carthaginian custom, says Julian, of turning children out to make their living for themselves, only forbidding them *δρᾶν τι τῶν δοκοῦντων αἰσχυρῶν*. 'That is not to bridle their desires, but to order them to try and not be found out.' Where then does *ἰδρῶτα* fit in? Read *τι δρῶντα*. It may be added that Julian is very careful in this oration about hiatus, and probably would not have allowed *πειρᾶσθαι ἰδρῶτα* to stand together.

17 C. *χαλεπῶς φέροντες πρὸς τὸ δουλεῖν. 'πρὸς delere Reiske vult,'* says Hertlein, 'aut έχοντες pro φέροντες scribere,' and Hertlein himself brackets *πρὸς*. But one need not go beyond Liddell and Scott to find *χαλεπῶς φέρειν* used with genitive, with dative, and with *ἐπὶ* and dative, by a *constructio ad sensum*, and why not with *πρὸς* and accusative?

19 A. *'Ἀρμένιοι παλαιοὶ σίμμαχοι στασιάζοντες καὶ μοῖρα σφῶν οὐ φαῖλη Πέρσαις προσθέμενοι*. The nominative *μοῖρα* is intolerable, not because of the masculine plural *προσθέμενοι* (for such a construction is common in Julian) but because it has no

proper construction otherwise, and because *σφῶν* is not reflexive. He uses *σφῶν* very often and almost always as a reflexive. I have collected the following references on this point: 21 B, 26 C, 61 C, 64 B, D, 76 A, 83 A, D, 86 B, 92 A, 99 A, 168 B, 437 C. The only exception is 99 D, *ταῖς τῶν ἱπρκῶν ξυμφοραῖς, ὅπως ἂν γίνονται, εἴτε κακίᾳ σφῶν καὶ ἀμαθίᾳ...* where *σφῶν* is used loosely as if he had said *ὅπως ἂν οἱ ἱπρκοὶ εἰς ξυμφορὰς καταστῶσι*, so that it is a *constructio ad sensum*, like *ἐπὶ σφᾶς* in Thuc. II, 101, or the *γυμνοὶ* of Thuc. II, 49, or fifty other passages. In Julian 60 A, *τὰ δόρατα σφῶν* if right is to be explained in the same way, but *σφῶν* is there ejected by Petavius and Hertlein; I myself think *σφῶν* ought there to be retained. Anyhow these two passages are both defensible, but that we are now concerned with is not. (It is curious to observe, by the way, how *σφῶν* drops out from Julian's later writings; here we have fourteen instances in the first hundred pages and only two in the other 350. It is also to be noted that Julian does use *σφίσι* for *αὐτοῖς* as well as *αὐτοῖς*.)

To come back to 19 A, it is obvious that we must read *μοῖρα*—*φαῖλη*.

19 D. *Λυσitteλὲς μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ὅτι μὴ τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ καλὸν ἐμοιγε φαίνεται, ὅλως δὲ εἴ τι καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ συμφέρον ἐξετάζειν δοκεῖ κ.τ.λ.* For *ὅλως* read *ὅμως*. Julian knew how to use both appropriately; for *ὅλως* see 46 C, 80 C; for *ὅμως* *passim*.

20 C. *πορείας μὲν τάχει χρησάμενος ἀθρόως ἐκ Παιώνων ἐν Σύροις ὤφθη, οὐδὲ τῷ λόγῳ δεῖξαι βῆδιον. 'ὅπως πορείας Schaefer, Petavius vero ὅπως μὲν pro ἀθρόως coniecit,' Hertlein.* But *ἀθρόως* has only got in by accident from some three lines down, and I think that what Julian said was *πορείας μὲν ὅσῳ τάχει χρησάμενος ἐκ Παιώνων κ.τ.λ.*

21 D. *χρημάτων δὲ ἐπενόεις πόρους οὐκ αὖξων τοὺς φόρους...ἐμμένων δὲ οἶμαι τοῖς ἀρχαίοις πλὴν εἴ ποιν πρὸς βραχὺ καὶ πρὸς εὐκαιρον ἐχρῆν αἰσθῆσθαι δαπανηροτέρων τῶν λειτουργημάτων.* V has two variants, *ἄκαιρον* for *εὐκαιρον*, whence Hertlein rather unhappily conjectures *ἀκαριαῖον*, and *αἰσθεσθαι*. That *αἰσθῆσθαι* is wrong is indeed apparent, for it is manifest that the sense we require is 'unless it was needful occasionally to add a little to the taxes.' That would be *προσθέσθαι*. Compare for this 23 D *ad fin.*: *κατ' ὀλίγον προστιθεῖς τῷ τάχει*. From this we see that Julian probably wrote a dative after *προσθέσθαι* without any accusative. But what of the accent in V? Of course

it may easily be a slip, but it may very well point to ἀεὶ being the original, and on the whole, I incline to think that Julian wrote: ἐχρὴν αἰεὶ προσθίσθαι (or προστίθασθαι) δαπανηροτέρων (adverb) τοῖς λειτουργήμασιν. Once the missing letters had fallen out (and our author is full of lacunae) and what was left was taken for αἰσθεσθαι, the rest followed as matter of course, and in the inferior MSS. the accent also was corrected to αἰσθεσθαι.

33 D. φανλοτέρας καὶ ἐλάττωτος VM, φανλότερα cet. Here again V preserves a nonsensical reading corrected in the other MSS. But the correction is not complete, for καὶ is quite pointless. Julian said φανλοτέρα ἐλάττωτος, this was corrupted to φανλοτέρας ἐλάττωτος, and καὶ was then added by someone to give an appearance of sense by connecting the two adjectives. But that someone did not thereby make a sentence that would stand investigation and so a later corrector altered φανλοτέρας back to φανλοτέρα, quite rightly so far as he went.

37 D. Julian is describing the chain-mail armour which was then coming into use. ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν ἄκρων καρπῶν, says he, ἐς τοὺς ἀγκῶνας, ἐκείθεν δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ὤμους, καὶ ὁ θώραξ <ἐκ> τμημάτων κατὰ τὸ στέρνον καὶ τὰ νῶτα συναρμοζόμενος, τὸ κράνος αὐτῷ προσώπῳ σιδηροῦν ἐπικείμενον ἀνδριάντος λαμπροῦ καὶ στίλβοντος παρέχει τὴν ὄψιν. This sentence is in a lamentable state, and all the editors have done for it is Reiske's insertion of ἐκ and Hertlein's ἐπικείμενον for ἐπικείμενος. Without wasting space by raising obvious objections, I will propose, (1) to mark a lacuna after ὤμους, (2) to read καὶ τὸ κράνος or τὸ δὲ κράνος, (3) to add τῷ between αὐτῷ and προσώπῳ. For αὐτῷ προσώπῳ could only mean 'face and all' and even if that were any sense there would be nothing left for ἐπικείμενον to govern. For the whole passage compare 57 B, C, especially θώραξιν ἐλατοῖς καὶ ἰ κράνεσιν.

38 B. ἢ πάντως τὸ τέλος ἀποδοῦναι τῶν ἔργων ποθοῦσιν αἷον; Hertlein observes 'τοῖς ποθοῦσιν malim,' but, though he is well advised in desiring some change, his proposal is not sufficient. 'Shall I leave off at

this point?' asks Julian, 'or is it not better to pay up the reward in full?' Pay it τοῖς ποθοῦσιν? No, indeed; it was Julian himself who desired to complete it (or who pretended to desire it in this disgraceful piece of hypocrisy and flattery). For at 40 C he writes ἐμοὶ δὲ ποθοῦντι μὲν ἐπεξελεῖν κ.τ.λ. So here what he wrote was ποθοῦμεν, whether the corruption can be 'scientifically' accounted for or no.

40 D. μήτ' εἴ τι τοιοῦτον ἕτερον τῶν πάλαι γεγονὸς λέλγθε τοὺς πολλούς. 'I won't mention this and that of your exploits,' says the orator, 'nor'—what? Apparently 'any other ancient exploit of which the public know nothing.' Apart from the irrelevancy of such a remark, you would expect him then to go on to talk of the flood or the tower of Babel. But not he, he trots out the city of Antioch, which may be named after Antiochus but has only become fit for human habitation by the benefit of Constantius. Therefore what the public did not see was this very recent debt due to Constantius from the city of Antioch, they did not appreciate the Emperor's magnificence. All that has happened is that the word αἷον has dropped out between ἕτερον and τῶν πάλαι.

43 A. πλουτοῦσι μὲν γὰρ ἅπασαι διὰ σέ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ἐνδεεῖς οὔσαι καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων. Wytenbach, followed by Hertlein, reads διὰ σέ διὰ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν. But what can be more wiredrawn and senseless than this change of case after διὰ? Also τῶν (after σέ) is the reading of V alone, the vulgate has τόν. And in this case the vulgate is nearer the truth than V, which can by no means be trusted through thick and thin; within the next few lines V is twice wrong in differing from other MSS. Here the original plainly was τό γ' ἔμπροσθεν.

I add a few suggestions for what they are worth. In 12 A read τοῦ μὲν <οὖν> ἀκίνδυνον. In 18 C στρατευσομένοις for στρατενομένοις. In 26 D φιλάνθρωπον seems corrupt; so also in 35 B the sentence beginning σκηπτός. And in 48 A query <τῶν> ἐρυμάτων to avoid hiatus?

ARTHUR PLATT.

CAESAR'S CONCEPTION OF FORTUNA.

It is a common idea that Caesar had a profound belief in his own good fortune. Some writers have even postulated for him the notion that a kind of benevolent destiny watched over his life and guaranteed him success in a long career of carefully calculated ambition. Mommsen, it is true, wrote cautiously on this point: (R. H. iv. 452).

'However prudently he planned and contemplated all possibilities, the feeling was never absent from his heart that in all things fortune, that is to say accident, must bestow success; and with this may be connected the circumstance that he so often played a desperate game with destiny, and in particular again and again hazarded his person with daring indifference. As indeed occasionally men of predominant sagacity betake themselves to a pure game of hazard, so there was in Caesar's rationalism a point at which it came in some measure into contact with mysticism.'

But as a recent specimen of the more definite view to which I allude I may quote a few words from Mr. T. Rice Holmes' excellent work on Caesar's Conquest of Gaul, p. 22:—

'He believed, with the faith of a devotee, that above himself there was a power, without whose aid the strongest judgment, the most diligent calculation, might fail. That power was Fortune; and Caesar was assured that Fortune was ever on his side.'

The question as to the belief in Fortuna, whether as deity, destiny, or simple luck and accident, during the period of the Roman Revolution and the early Empire, is an extremely interesting one; and I have lately been at pains to discover what views were taken of this mysterious agency by writers of that age. So far as Caesar himself is concerned, I cannot find in his own works (the only good evidence we have) any certain indication of such a view as Mr. Holmes expresses. I think I can shew that a superstitious belief in Fortuna, such as Sulla is said to have held, is more prominent in contemporary writers than in Caesar himself. I also have some reason to think that a belief in blind chance, whether conceived as a deity or not, gained ground steadily in the century after Caesar's death, until it reached a pitch which is very forcibly expressed in a well-known passage of the elder Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 2, ch. 22): 'toto quippe mundo et omnibus locis omnibusque horis omnium vocibus Fortuna sola invocatur ac nominatur, una accusatur, una agitur rea, una cogitatur, sola laudatur,

sola arguitur. Et cum conviciis colitur, volubilis, a plerisque vero et caeca existimata, vaga, inconstans, incerta, varia, indignorumque faultrix. Huic omnia expensa, huic omnia feruntur accepta, et in tota ratione mortalium sola utramque paginam facit.' The tendency towards such a belief as is indicated in this strange passage was not unnatural at a time when educated men had almost entirely lost their old faith in the gods, when few had realised as Lucretius did the power of universal law in Nature, and when the influence of the Christian idea of a benevolent Providence, acting not wilfully, but according to the moral deserts of individuals and communities, had not yet begun to be felt in Roman society. The nearest approach to this last view is seen perhaps in the conviction of a destiny governing the Roman State (*Fortuna Populi Romani*), but capable of forsaking it in times of moral delinquency; a view seen best in Virgil, and one which gives the *Aeneid* a higher moral tone than any work in Roman literature. But I must return to Caesar, with whose view I am chiefly concerned in this paper.

Mr. Holmes quotes several passages from Caesar in support of his view; these I will examine in the first place. The first is in the short letter written by Caesar to Cicero 'ex itinere' on April 16, B.C. 49 (*Att.* 8. 10 B):

'namque et amicitiae graviolem injuriam feceris et tibi minus commode consulueris, si non fortunae obsecutus videbere—omnia enim secundissima nobis, adversissima illis accidisse videntur.'

There is nothing in these words that might not be written at the present day by a man urging a friend to join a successful side in war or politics. Caesar is thinking of nothing more than the events of the preceding three months, which were not due to luck, but entirely to his own skill and rapidity; but in deference to Cicero's sensibility, he tactfully suggests that Fortune had befriended him and might also befriend Cicero, if he would join him.

(2) Next Mr. Holmes quotes B.G. v. 58, § 6: 'comprobat hominis consilium fortuna, &c.' This passage is not without value for Caesar's view of Fortuna, but here the homo is not Caesar himself, but Labienus,

whose plan for making an end of Indutiomarus *turned out*, as we should say, to be well laid.

(3) B.G. vi. 30: 'Multum cum in omnibus rebus, tum in re militari potest fortuna.' Here the whole chapter should be read in order to understand the force of these words. Caesar himself was not on the spot; his lieutenant Minucius Basilus was hunting Ambiorix in a difficult and wooded district. Basilus, Caesar means, was lucky in not running unprepared right into the enemy's quarters, and Ambiorix was still more so in contriving to escape. The nature of the country was such that luck had more than usual to do with the result.

(4) and (5) B.G. vi. 33: (cp. 42, which will be quoted directly)

'Hic, quantum in bello fortuna possit et quantos afferat casus, cognoscere potuit.'

With these words Caesar introduces the story of the disaster to Quintus Cicero at Aduatua, which was owing to the unexpected raid of a body of Sugambrian horse. It is one of those scenes in the Gallic War which vividly recall the late 'regrettable incidents' in South Africa. Cicero had allowed himself, contrary to Caesar's orders, to send out of his camp half a legion of recruits to forage; and in their absence the camp was attacked, and only saved by the heroism of a veteran centurion. Then the foraging recruits were attacked in their turn on their way back to camp and all but cut to pieces. Caesar arrived that night and saved the situation. (c. 42):

'Reversus ille, eventus belli non ignorans, unum, quod cohortes ex statione et praesidio essent emissae, questus ne minimo quidem casu locum relinqui debuisset multum fortunam in repentino hostium adventu potuisse judicavit, multo etiam amplius, quod paene ab ipso vallo portisque castrorum barbaros avertisset.'

With his usual consideration for the feelings of his officers—and this one had recently done him excellent service—he contented himself with telling Cicero that he had been unlucky in being suddenly attacked, but that he should not have disobeyed orders, and was particularly fortunate in being able to save his camp.

(6) B. C. iii. 10:

'Hoc unum esse tempus de pace agendi, dum sibi uterque confideret et

pares ambo viderentur; si vero alteri paulum modo tribuisset fortuna, non esse usurum condicionibus pacis eum, qui superior videretur, neque fore aequa parte contentum, qui se omnia habiturum confideret.'

Caesar is here endeavouring to treat with Pompeius after landing in Epirus in January 48. Both sides, he argues, had had equal success so far; if one should be luckier than the other in the future, it might be more difficult to come to terms. Here there is an apparent personification of fortuna, but no stress can be laid on the use of the word, for Caesar is tactfully suggesting that if his opponent were beaten, it would be owing rather to ill-luck than to his own want of skill.

(7) B. C. iii. 68:

'Sed fortuna, quae, plurimum potest cum in reliquis rebus tum praecipue in bello, parvis momentis magnas rerum commutationes efficit; ut tum accidit.'

This remark introduces the account of Caesar's defeat at Dyrrachium. The mishap was probably owing to his own undue haste in ordering an attack on ground not thoroughly reconnoitred; his men were not well in hand, and I think he felt this himself. But he is not above putting it down to chance, and in fact it was directly caused by a blunder on the part of his men which a general might well fail to anticipate. It is however worth while noting what he told the soldiers in his speech to them after the battle (73-4):

Si non omnia caderent secunda, fortunam esse industria sublevandam.'

(8) B. C. iii. 95:

'Caesar Pompeianis ex fuga intra vallum compulsis nullum spatium perterritis dare oportere existimans milites cohortatus est, ut beneficio fortunae uterentur castraque oppugnarent.'

After the battle of Pharsalus Caesar stimulates his men to an unusual feat, the storming of the enemy's camp, by appealing to their sense that all had so far gone prosperously. The words 'fortunae beneficium' are common and conventional (cp. B. C. i. 40), and can have no special bearing on Caesar's idea of Fortuna.

(9) To these passages cited by Mr. Holmes we may add B. G. iv. 26:

'Hoc unum ad pristinam fortunam Caesari deficit.'

At the landing in Britain Caesar was unable to pursue the defeated enemy as the transports with the cavalry had not reached the shore. This passage certainly indicates that Caesar thought he had so far been fortunate; but also that this was an exception to the rule, and there had in fact been many more.

(10) B. G. i. 40:

‘Quod non fore dicto audientes neque signa laturi dicantur, nihil se ea re commoveri; scire enim, quibuscumque exercitus dicto audiens non fuerit, aut male re gesta fortunam defuisse aut aliquo facinore comperto avaritiam esse convictam; suam innocentiam perpetua vita, felicitatem Helvetiorum bello esse perspectam.’

With this passage we may compare the statement of the author of the *Bellum Africanum* (83) that at the battle of Thapsus, when he could no longer restrain the impetuosity of his soldiers, he gave the signal ‘*Felicitas*’ and led the charge himself. That is, as the men insisted on precipitating his plans, he could only hope that good luck would follow their enthusiasm.

I may here interpolate a few words about the meaning of *Felicitas*. This word does not merely indicate good-luck in the sense of chance as in a game; it means rather what we ourselves mean when we speak of a happy thought or a happy conjecture, and does not exclude the cooperation of the human agent in securing a fortunate result. When Cicero in the *Pro Lege Manilia* (x. 28) says in allusion to Pompeius that the *summus imperator* should have four qualities, *scientia rei militaris*, *virtus*, *auctoritas*, and *felicitas*, he means, as the whole context shows (secs. 23—47), that the last of these will usually follow on the possession of the other three. There is a curious fragment of a letter of Cicero to Cornelius Nepos, preserved by Ammianus Marcellinus (xxi. 16, 13) in which this idea of *felicitas* is still more definitely expressed, and with special reference to Caesar. (Tyrrell and Purser, vi. 292):

“neque enim quicquam aliud est felicitas” inquit “nisi honestarum rerum prosperitas, vel ut alio modo definiam: *felicitas est fortuna adiutrix consiliorum bonorum*, quibus qui non utitur, felix esse nullo pacto potest. Ergo in perditis impiisque consiliis, quibus Caesar usus erat, nulla potuit esse felicitas.”

I should judge by the tone of this passage that it was written just after Caesar's death, and was perhaps suggested by the new temple of *Felicitas* which Lepidus had just dedicated or was about to dedicate on the site of the *Curia* built by Sulla and pulled down by Caesar apparently to make room for the temple. (Dio Cass. 44, 5. *Aust. de aedibus sacris* p. 30. It is possible that this temple was vowed by Caesar at Thapsus.)

But to return to Caesar himself. I have examined in all a great number of passages in his writings, in which the word *fortuna* occurs, but can find none which throw additional light on the question. From those quoted above, it seems impossible to conclude that Caesar had any particular belief in his own good fortune; though it is possible that at the very end of his life, as the temple to *Felicitas* may suggest, he looked back on his career with some astonishment at his singular good fortune. Two of our passages refer to serious disasters to his army; two also to disappointments, though in one of these (No. 9) he casually alludes to his former good-luck. One passage (No. 2) concerns Labienus; another (No. 6) is neutral in reference, and No. 8 is a conventional use of the word *fortuna*. No. 1 has a personal reference, but, as I have pointed out, it applies to a single campaign and was suggested by a desire to spare Cicero's feelings. In No. 10 he refers to his *felicitas* in another campaign; but that word does not necessarily imply that he thought of himself as favoured by a mysterious power. To me it seems that Caesar is in this matter, as in others, as completely rational as Lucretius; I can find nothing in him to suggest any tinge of mysticism. It is true that he believed in good and bad luck, as we all do; he believed that in things which are beyond our power to anticipate exactly we must often trust to luck—but not till we have done all that is in our power to secure it. Risks must be run, especially if time be precious, as it generally was to Caesar; but a careful study of his campaigns has long ago convinced me that he did not even run serious risk unless he knew that his enemies were not likely to make the best of the opportunities he was offering them. And if his luck failed, it is quite clear that he believed that it could be made up for by *industria*. There is no better example of this in military history than the way in which he extricated himself at Ilerda from the appalling peril caused by the sudden flood of a river.

It is true indeed, that though he never really personifies *fortuna*, he puts more emphasis upon her share in his operations than a modern general would do; but that is a tendency which is common to the writers of his age. The experiences of the last century of the Republic might well create a belief in the blind or wilful domination of chance in human affairs; society and politics seemed to be governed by no benevolent destiny, or rational law of development. But other writers emphasise this much more strongly than Caesar himself; and I will conclude this paper by quoting a few sentences from Caesar's contemporaries and friends which will shew this at a glance.

Sallust, Cat. 8 :

'Sed profecto Fortuna in omni re dominatur; ea res cunctas, *ex libidine magis quam ex vero*, celebrat obscuratque.'

ib. 10 :

'Sed ubi labore atque justitia res publica crevit, reges magni bello domiti, nationes ferae et populi ingentes vi subacti, Carthago, aemula imperii Romani, ab stirpe interiit, cuncta maria terraeque patebant, *saevire Fortuna, ac miscere omnia, coepit*.'

De Bello Alexandrino (possibly by Asinius Pollio) ch. 25 :

'At fortuna, quae plerumque eos, quos plurimis beneficiis ornavit, ad duriorem casum reservat, superiorum temporum dissimilis Euphranorem prosequatur.'

Cic. De Div. II. vii § 18 :

'Nihil enim est tam contrarium

rationi et constantiae, quam fortuna; ut mihi ne in deum quidem cadere videatur, ut sciat, quid casu et fortuito futurum sit.'

Cornelius Nepos, Dion 6 :

'Has tam prosperas tamque inopinatas res consecuta est subita commutatio, quod fortuna *sua mobilitate*, quem paulo ante extulerat, demergere est adorta. Primum in filio, de quo commemoravi supra, suam vim exercuit.'

ib. Atticus, 19 :

'Tanta enim prosperitas Caesarem est consecuta, ut nihil ei non tribuerit fortuna, quod cuiquam ante detulerat, et conciliarit, quod nemo adhuc civis Romanus quivit consequi.'

Cic. Pro. Marcello iii. 7. (addressing Caesar) :

'Quin etiam illa ipsa rerum humanarum domina, Fortuna, in istius se societatem gloriae non offert, tibi cedit, tuam esse totam et propriam fatetur.'

These two last passages, taken together with the fragment of a letter to Nepos quoted above, seem to me to suggest that the idea of Caesar's extraordinary good fortune, of which we can find but little trace in his own writings, was really a very natural conviction of his contemporaries, and nothing more. The others show a tendency to personify Fortuna (though hardly as a deity), and an ascription to her of wantonness and caprice, which are not to be found in Caesar's own writings.

W. WARDE FOWLER.

ON HORACE, ODES, III. 30, 10-14.

Dicar, qua violens obstrepit Aufidus
et qua pauper aquae Daunus agrestium
regnavit populorum, ex humili potens,
princeps Aeolium carmen ad Italos
deduxisse modos.

At the meeting of the American Philological Association in July, 1894, I read a paper on the interpretation of these verses,¹

¹ See the Proceedings of the Association for that year, pp. 27-30.

in which I sought to show that the *qua*-clauses are to be taken closely with *dicar*. Up to that time editors had inclined to join these clauses either with *ex humili potens* or with *princeps...modos*. The former view had been adopted by Kiessling, the latter by Wickham and Page. Bentley, Orelli-Hirschfelder, Lucian Mueller, Dillenburger, Nauck, and Doering held views varying in details, but all were agreed that the *qua*-clauses are not to be joined to *dicar*.

The point of view of these various editors is very well given by Mr. Page's remark that "Horace does not wish to limit his fame to his native district, but that his native district should share in his own world-wide glory," and by Dillenburger's caution, "Noli tamen haec cum *dicar* artius coniungere, nam nomen Horatii et gloria tam angustis finibus non est circumscribenda." Maclean, in his introductory note to the Ode, at first urges that the *qua*-clauses should be joined to *dicar*, but presently, losing the courage of his convictions, suggests that after all the clauses should be joined to *ex humili potens*.¹

Against these traditional interpretations I argued along three lines.

1. Editors generally have handled this passage in unscientific fashion; they have brought to bear upon it their *animus*, not their *mens atque ingenium*. On purely aesthetic grounds they have assumed that Horace ought, under the circumstances, to have talked in terms of universals, and they assume also that therefore he certainly did talk in terms of universals. Having reached this conviction, they proceed to torture the words into yielding, to their own satisfaction at least, the meaning they desiderate. That this is an unscientific procedure no one can deny.

2. The interpretations gained by joining the *qua*-clauses either to *ex humili potens* or to *princeps*... *modos* do violence to the known facts of Horace's life, for in Apulia neque Horatius ex humili factus est potens neque Aeolium carmen ad Italos deduxit modos. Horace's literary career and consequent rise from low estate to high degree were connected, from beginning to end, with Rome and the Sabine farm.²

3. To join the *qua*-clauses to anything except to *dicar* is to do violence to all considerations of syntax, word-order, and rhythm.

When this point had been reached, it

¹ It was a pleasure to find that Prof. Smith, of Harvard University, in his edition of the *Odes and Epodes*, published in the fall of 1894, took the *qua*-clauses with *dicar*. Prof. Shorey (1899) takes the clauses with *princeps*... *deduxisse*, but he continues thus: "but it is virtually the same thing to be remembered as a poet in his humble birthplace and to be remembered as one who in or from that humble place attained the poet's fame." Prof. Moore (1902) makes the following comment, all too brief: "*qua*, &c.: i.e. 'I shall be honoured in the district where I was born.'" Lucian Mueller, in his monumental commentary (1900), still holds that the passage is corrupt or that there is a lacuna.

² On points 2 and 3 see further the paper referred to above. Cf. too, to some extent, Lucian Mueller *ad loc.*

remained to illustrate, if possible, by a fitting parallel the thought obtained by my interpretation. This was found in Martial, i. 61, *passim*, but especially in vss. 7, 8, 11, 12:

duosque Senecas unicumque Lucanum
facunda loquitur Corduba.
Te, Liciniane, gloriabitur nostra
nec me tacebit Bilbilis.

In the last two vss. Martial expresses not only of himself, but of another, his friend, the very thought which modern feeling has been so loth to attribute to Horace. Martial knew Horace's Ode well (cf. *Epigramm.* viii. 3, 5-8, x. 2, 9-12); he knew, also, Ovid's paraphrase of it in *Met.* xv. 871 ff., and doubtless also Propertius's imitations.

Recently, in reading Mr. Strachan-Davidson's book on Cicero, in the 'Heroes of the Nations' series, I came upon a passage which seems to me to throw light on our Horatian crux. It is on pp. 6-8, and runs, in part, as follows:

'The statesman who came from a country-town in Italy was perhaps more than compensated for the lack of ancestral connection with the city of Rome, by the keen interest which his fellow-townsmen and neighbours took in his political career, by their pride and delight in his exploits, and by their anxiety for the reputation which reflected credit upon their native place. In this respect the country-towns were in strong contrast with the civic and suburban districts, such as that of Tusculum, which were surfeited with famous and noble families and were careless about their local worthies.'

Mr. Strachan-Davidson then translates *Pro Plancio*, §§ 20, 22, as affording the justification of the remarks just quoted. It will be better here to transcribe the pertinent portions of §§ 19-22.

'Tu es e municipio antiquissimo Tusculano, ex quo sunt plurimae familiae consulares, in quibus est etiam Iuventia; tot³ ex reliquis municipiis omnibus non sunt. hic est e praefectura Atinati, non tam prisca, non tam honorata, non tam suburbana. quantum interesse vis ad rationem petendi? primum utrum magis favere putas Atinates an Tusculanos suis? alteri—scire enim hoc propter vicinitatem possum—cum huius ornatissimi atque optimi viri, Cn. Saturnini, patrem aedilem, cum praetorem viderunt, quod primus ille non modo in eam familiam, sed etiam in praefecturam illam sellam curulem addulisset, mirandum in modum laetati sunt: alteros—credo, quia refertum est municipium consularibus, nam malevolos non esse certo scio—numquam intellexi vehementius suorum municipium honore laetari. habemus hoc nos, habent municipia nostra. quid ego de me, de fratre meo loquar? quorum honoribus agri ipsi prope dicam montesque faverunt, num quando vides Tusculanum aliquem de M. Catone illo... gloriari? at in quemcumque Arpinatem incl-

³ Mueller needlessly inserts *quot*, and, of course, punctuates differently.

deris, etiam si nolis, erit tamen tibi fortasse etiam de nobis aliquid, sed certe de C. Mario audiendum . . . omnia, quae dico de Plancio, dico expertus in nobis, sumus enim finitimi Atinatibus. laudanda est vel etiam amanda vicinitas, retinens veterem illum officii morem, non infusata malevolentia, non adueta mendacii, non fucosa, non fallax, non erudita artificio simulationis vel suburbano vel etiam urbano. nemo Arpinas non Plancio studuit, nemo Soranus, nemo Casinas, nemo Aquinas. tractus ille celeberrimus, Venafranum, Allifanum, tota denique nostra illa aspera et montuosa et fidelis et simplex et faultrix suorum regio se huius honore ornari, se augeri dignitate arbitrabatur.'

No special comment is needed. The passage, put beside Martial, i. 61, will show that the thought obtained by joining the

qua-clauses closely to *dicar* is one which a Roman could thoroughly appreciate, even though a modern reader persists in feeling that under the circumstances Horace ought to have talked in terms of universals, not of particulars. It was evidently accounted no small thing in those times to be remembered in one's native place. Cicero did not feel it beneath his own dignity to dwell upon fame of that sort, in connection even with himself, as late as the year 54 B.C.; why then make so much trouble over the expression of the same thought by Horace?

CHARLES KNAPP.

ON THE ALLUSIONS IN HORACE, ODES I, 14.

ONLY two facts can be asserted concerning this ode. It is modelled on an ode of Alcaeus, and Quintilian believed it to be an allegory. There is hardly any internal evidence. The ship is 'Pontica pinus,' and Horace prays it to avoid the seas between the Cyclades. The former reference has been developed largely, the latter more or less neglected. Both are possibly due to Alcaeus' ode. Horace's peculiar manner of using his models can be seen in the Satire (i. 5) describing the journey to Brundisium. There he copies Lucilius so closely that we might almost call his work a parody. So here, if Alcaeus had mentioned where his ship was built, and whither it was going, Horace would probably imitate him. As to its being an allegory, we can be perfectly certain that, if the ship is the State, yet the ode had also a particular application to some time or event. I suggest that the time is B.C. 31, about the middle of December. Suetonius Aug. 17 has the following passage, 'Ab Actio cum Samum in hiberna se recepisset (Octavianus), turbatus nuntiis de seditione praemia et missionem poscentium, quos ex omni numero confecta victoria Brundisium praemiseraat, repetita Italia, tempestate in traiectu bis conflictatus (primo inter promuntaria Peloponnesi atque Aetoliae, rursus circa montes Ceraunios, utrobique parte liburnicarum demersa, simul eius, in qua vehebatur, fuis armamentis et gubernaculo diffracto) nec amplius quam septem et viginti dies, donec desideria militum ordinarentur, Brundisii commoratus, Asiae Syriaeque circuitu Aegyptum petit,' and the deaths of Antony

and Cleopatra follow. Plutarch in his life of Antony corroborates.

Horace and Maecenas may have gone to Brundisium to meet him during the twenty-seven days. Whether that were so or not, I think Horace addressed this ode to Octavian's battered ship, without thinking very much about the patent allegory.

The ship, as a matter of fact, was likely enough to be made of Pontic pine, and Horace adjures it to be careful on its way to Asia (Suet. *loc. cit.*) of the dangerous seas around the Cyclades. This theory explains the last stanza, both as regards fact and allegory. At Actium the state had been 'sollicitum taedium,' still is 'desiderium curaue non levis,' and will be in danger if Caesar is wrecked in the Aegean. Octavian had done a plucky thing, in making a winter voyage, been in much danger, and Horace pays him a most graceful compliment. But the compliment did not end here. In several places Horace, to please his patron, recalls this voyage.

Everybody has noticed how often Horace dwells on the danger of the Adriatic at the time of Orion's setting, that is from the 13th November to December, the time during which Octavian sailed to Italy. Odes i. 3, gains by considering lines 17—20 a reference to Augustus' adventures and praise of his daring

Quem Mortis timuit gradum,
Qui siccis oculis monstra natantia
Qui vidit mare turgidum et
Infames scopulos Acrocerania?

Line 14 indicates the time of the year; the

'tristes Hyades' set at the end of November. The 'South wind struggling with the North wind' might easily be explained by the two storms, which drove him, according to Suetonius, first on to some cliffs between the Peloponnese and Aetolia, and afterwards on to the Acrocerania. Again *ep. iii. 27. 17-20*

Sed vides, quanto trepidet tumultu
Pronus Orion. Ego quid sit ater
Hadriae novi sinus et quid albus
Peccet Iapex.

The time of the year is the same, and the wind is North. Such a time was unusual for crossing the sea. There is the same reference to the Adriatic in late autumn in *Ode i. 28. 22, iii. 7. 5*, and other places.

Ode ii. 14. 13, demands more attention :

Frustra cruento Marte carebimus
Fractisque rauci fluctibus Hadriae,
Frustra per autumnos nocentem
Corporibus metuemus Austrum.

I think this is a direct reference to Augustus. Horace himself had been shipwrecked,

—it would have been impossible for him not to have mentioned it,—but the scene was Cape Palinurus, probably during the war with Sextus Pompeius. In the stanza quoted 'frustra cruento Marte carebimus,' may of course refer to Augustus, and I am trying to show that 'fractisque rauci fluctibus Hadriae,' refers to him also. For the third danger, Auster in the autumn, compare Suetonius, *Aug. 81*. 'Quasdam et anniversarias ac tempore certo recurrentes (Augustus) experiebatur; nam sub natalem suum plerumque languebat; et initio veris praecordiorum inflatione temptabatur, *austri- nis autem temporibus gravedine.*' Also Suet. *Aug. 72* 'Ac per annos amplius quadraginta eodem cubiculo hieme et aestate mansit, quamvis parum salubrem valetudini suae urbem hieme experiretur; assidueque in urbe hiemaret.' This interpretation of the stanza gives point to the preceding lines

'sive reges
sive inopes erimus coloni.'

ERNEST ENSOR.

NOTE ON PROPERTIUS IV. 1. 65, 66.

IN Propertius, Book IV. (V.), 1. 63-66, the MSS. N, D, and V, read

Ut nostris tumefacta superbiat Umbria
libris,
Umbria Romani patria Callimachi;
Scandentes quisquis cernit de vallibus arces,
Ingenio muros aestimet ille meo.

In 65, 66, F reads 'quasuis cernet,' and L 'quasuis cernit.'

In the same poem at line 125 we have

Scandentisque Asis (or Asisi, Lachmann)
consurgit vertice murus,
Murus ab ingenio notior ille tuo.

Here for 'Asis' D and V read 'axis.'

Lines 65 and 66 are apparently a slightly different version of the same thought as that contained in the undoubtedly sound couplet, 125 and 126. If they are to be retained in their present context they must be emended, in order that they may be connected with the preceding lines; hence Prof. Postgate reads

Scandentes quis qui cernit . . .

others read *si quis cernit*, (e.g. Paley and Haupt).

But the 'quasuis' of F and L cannot be ignored, for it makes no sort of sense, and is therefore not a correction but a corruption of some earlier tradition. I suggest that the corrupted word was *Asis* (or *Asisi*, for the quantity is still in doubt) and that lines 65, 66 should be

Scandentesque ¹ *Asis(i)* qui cernit vallibus
arces,

Ingenio muros aestimet ille meo.

According to this view the corruption of 'que Asisi qui' accounts for *quisquis*, *quasuis*, and (if necessary) *si quis*, and *de* was added later to make the line scan. The 'axis' of D and V in line 125 shews that the name of this town was easily corrupted.

The question then arises whether 65 and 66 can possibly have belonged to the same poem as 125 and 126, since the similarity of the couplets is only increased by the emendation. Such looseness of composition is, I think, unparalleled even in Propertius; but he often re-writes lines that have occurred in former poems. To take only one instance; in Book II. xiii. 47. 48. [III. v. 31, 32] we have the lines

¹ Or, Scandentis.

Cui si longaevae minuisset fata senectae
Gallicus Iliacis miles in aggeribus,

where 'longaevae . . . fata senectae' is an echo of 'longae remorentur fata senectae,' in I. xix. 17, and the pentameter of 'miles ab Etruscis saucius aggeribus,' in I. xxi. 2.

It is probable then that this version of lines 125 and 126, which is undoubtedly Propertian, occurred originally in some earlier poem. It is easy to account for its insertion after line 64, since the text has been much disturbed by illustrative quotations; e.g. II. xiv. [III. vi.] 29-32, and II. xxiv. [III. xviii.] 11-16, which may be intended to illustrate in the one case 'ante tuam aedem,' and in the other 'immundo Sacra conteritur Via socco,' above. And its retention was facilitated by the subjunctive 'aestimēt,' which seemed to be governed by 'ut' in line 63, and by the fact that, unlike the majority of such additions, it made very excellent sense.

If these suppositions be correct, it still remains to assign the couplet to its rightful place. In this instance the solution is simplified by Professor Housman's extremely ingenious restoration of the last poem of the first Book, a poem generally admitted to be mutilated. According to this theory two couplets have been lost there, one of which reappears in II. xxx. 21, 22

Spargereque alterna communes caede Penates
Et ferre ad patrios praemia dira Lares

as a quotation illustrating the difficult infinitives in lines 19 and 20 which in N are read as

¹ Non tamen immerito! Phrygiæ nunc ire
per undas
Et petere Hyrcani litora nota maris.

¹ Lines 19 and 20 of II. xxx. seem themselves to

The other lost couplet is the one under discussion. The last poem of Book I will then end thus

Spargereque alterna communes caede
Penates

Et ferre ad patrios praemia dira Lares, ¹⁰
Proxima supposito contingens Umbria
campo

Me genuit terris fertilis uberibus,
Scandentesque Asis(i) qui cernit vallibus
arces,

Ingenio muros aestimet ille meo.

The infinitives in lines 9 and 10 are in reality governed by 'egit' in line 5, but the construction is quite sufficiently obscure to admit of the couplet being deleted when it had once become incorporated in II. xxx. Similarly, lines 13 and 14 were deleted, as recurring in the last book, when the whole point of them had been lost by the corruption of the word Asis(i). If Professor Housman's conjecture be correct, the poem as restored gains greatly in force by the addition of the actual name of the poet's birthplace at the end.

O. L. RICHMOND.

have been introduced from somewhere else, as in their context they make no sense. Is it possible that 'non tamen immerito,' which has been altered to 'num tu, dure, paras,' in other MSS. to account for the infinitives, is itself a corruption of 'non Tanain metuo?' If this were possible, it would account for their addition here, presumably at the bottom of a page, as a quotation illustrating 'tu licet usque | ad Tanain fugias, usque sequetur Amor,' where D, F, and L have 'tantum' for 'Tanain.' We should then have to change 'nunc' to 'non.' The corruption might have been facilitated by the recollection of II. vi. 35. 'Sed non immerito.'

A ROMAN STAGE CONVENTION.

Agorastocles. Collybiscus.

Ag. Agite, inspicite. *Co.* Aurum est profecto, spectatores, comicum: Macerato hoc pingues fiunt auro in Barbaria boves.—Plautus, *Poenulus*. Act III. Sc. 2, line 19.

Nec tamen ignorat quid distent aera lupinis.—Horace, *Ep.* 1. 7, line 23.

THE above passages are by themselves sufficient to prove that lupines were used

upon the Roman stage to represent money, and it is generally assumed that the large, round, flat seeds of the plant resembled coins sufficiently for the convention to be tolerable. Now Miller's 'Gardeners' Dictionary' acknowledges five varieties of lupine as indigenous to southern Europe.

1. *Lupinus albus*, which is still cultivated both for food and manure. The seeds are 'rounded, smooth, and white, and smaller than those of most other varieties.'

2. *Lupinus varius*. The seeds are 'solitary, large, irregularly round, beaked above the navel by a short knob, flattish on both sides, marked in the middle with a broad ferruginous spot.'

3. *Lupinus hirsutus*. 'Three large roundish seeds, rough, and of a purplish brown.'

4. *Lupinus pilosus*, the seeds of which are not described but the plant differs very slightly from the *hirsutus*.

5. *Lupinus angustifolius*. The seeds are 'ovate, globular, equally turgid all round, variegated with dusky branching spots and whitish dots.'

Now it is plain that none of these seeds—except possibly those of the *Lupinus albus*—can ever have looked the least like a gold coin and in no case can the resemblance have been at all satisfactory. It is also improbable that Roman cattle were ever fattened on a mash of lupine seeds.

The only gold coinage existing at Rome in Plautus' life-time was issued when the Second Punic war had brought the state to the verge of bankruptcy, and was apparently recalled soon after peace was declared. The *Lex Oppia*, which was passed 'in medio ardore Punici belli' and repealed twenty years later suggests that this coinage was made out of the gold ornaments worn by the Roman ladies. In this case it would naturally have been made up again as soon as possible. It is a fair inference that the Romans of Plautus' time were not in the habit of using gold coins.

In the museum at Pesth there are some

gold bars, issued between 367 and 383 A.D., bearing the stamp of the mint at Sirmio, and obviously intended to be used as currency. These gold 'lateres' are about six inches long and half an inch square, and are, in fact, exactly like rather fat sticks of sealing-wax. It seems very probable therefore that the Romans were more or less accustomed to a currency of gold bars even in the fourth century A.D. when gold coins had existed for centuries. They must have used these 'lateres' habitually in Plautus' time, when there was no regular gold coinage at all.

Now all these varieties of lupines have a straight thick stalk from eighteen to thirty-six inches in length, which would of course turn yellow when dry. Cut up into suitable lengths, this thick yellow stalk would look quite sufficiently like a gold 'later' to be used on the stage, and if Collybiscus had a handful of them he might very well turn to the audience and say 'we fatten our cattle on a mash of this gold in Italy.'

Then if we accept Prof. Ridgeway's theory that the *as* was originally a rod of copper it would—at any rate when new—have looked quite sufficiently like a dry lupine stalk to have given rise to some proverbial remark like that quoted above from Horace's *Epistle*. It is hard to see how any one in possession of their faculties can ever have been deceived for a moment by any superficial resemblance between a large bronze, or copper, coin and the seed of a leguminous plant.

R. H. MALDEN.

KING'S COLLEGE,
February 2, 1903.

ON SOME SYMBOLS OF OMISSION IN LIVIAN MSS.

his and *h.s.*

In collating the Harleian Livy i-viii. (British Museum, 2672: 70½) I found in Book vii. 30. 2 'pariter ac nunc *his* misericordia,' and the same reading is recorded for Leidensis: also in vii. 18. 5 both MSS. have 'ac—c. *h.s.* reges uel decemuiros.' In these passages '*his*' and '*h.s.*' are in themselves meaningless and take the place of omitted words. The obvious explanation is that the archetype of both MSS. had the words or letters, here faithfully copied by the scribes of H and L, to mark omissions, and that the omitted words were written or intended to be written in the margin with the same

or corresponding symbols that there might be no doubt as to their proper place: and this was the explanation I recently offered in a paper read before the Cambridge Philological Society. Since then I have found other instances of the same symbols in other MSS. The Paris MSS. Parisiensis and Floriacensis have at x. 45 §§ 8-10 'et herculaneum *his* etiam signis'; 'ex samnitibus—herculaneum' being omitted.

At ix. 4. 13 Mediceus has 'immo hercule *his* quam a Gallorum,' omitting 'produntur—tam hercule'; again at ix. 11. 11 M has 'ciuem Romanum *hs* uiolatum,' omitting 'esse—Romanum': on which Alschefski says 'hoc signo antiqui librarii uti solebant

si quid excidisse uideretur' and that being misunderstood the sign was written *his* and then *bis*.

(The dot found in H (*h.s.*) would help the change to *his* of course). Alschevski is partly right, but he should have said it was the sign to point where words omitted but supplied originally in the margin were meant to come; and he forgets to apply his view back to ix. 4, 13, nor does he go far enough.¹

hd, hd, haud.

In ii. 5. 2. P has 'tiberim fuit hd forte,' and F has 'tiberim fuit haud forte'; both omit 'consecratus—fuit'; but P has also in top margin 'hd' (lined through) and the missing words, written by P₂, who I think was the contemporary reviser of P and the real author of the MS. Here at any rate we have caught the scribes flagrante delicto (and what P₂ said to P₁ we can perhaps partly guess), and we have the explanation of hd, or hd, or haud supplied.

In H, at i. 39. 1. I find 'mirabile fuit hd nomen'; there is omission of 'puero—fuit' where 'hd' (a common abbreviation of haud) stands.

Also at ix. 46. 6 P has 'hd' (in lighter ink and above the line, as though by P₂) and

¹ In Cic. ad Att. xv. 24 we read, Serullia dixit eo die Brutum hns (or his) profectum. No omission has been suggested; can there be one, e.g. of some second name?

F has haud, both omitting 'dedicare—templum.'

h, h, d, b, y.

These symbols also are found in the MSS. :—

M has at ix. 5. 7 (according to Alschevski) 'quorum h ignauia,' ('temeritate—quorum,' being omitted). H has at iv. 24 'parat^b nimiam' with ^b seen in the margin.

H has also at v. 30. 8 and 31. 1 'haberetur d creati' and at the bottom of the page 'h uellentque—haberentur': at viii. 29, 13, 'uulnerum h scalis coepit,' and at the bottom 'h quod haud fere—excesserat'; at viii. 34, 10 'deserantur h interdiu nocte,' and at the bottom 'd signa neque—discernatur.' (These marginal additions in H are written by the scribe of the page.)

F has also y at x. 21. 2 to mark the omission of 'Romae—exercitum': the words however are picked up later and put in between 'nec' and 'ingenui' in § 4.

The meaning of the letters can be supplied according to individual fancy; h is a common siglum for *hic*; d may represent some part of *deesse* or *deficere*, and s may represent 'supple': 'his' of course is a misreading of 'h.s.' and 'haud' for 'hd.' Alschevski's 'bis' for 'his' I have not yet found.

W. C. F. WALTERS.

KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON.
March 1, 1903.

THE CLUNI CODEX OF CICERO.

In the *Classical Review* for December, 1902, (p. 460) Professor Robinson Ellis complains that I 'persist' in speaking of the Cicero codex now at Holkham as the *Cluni* M.S., "in spite of" his "protest in a public lecture delivered last February." It seems that I have deliberately called it so nearly twenty times in one paper (*C. R.* 8, 401-6)—'as if a thing resting on little or no evidence,' says Mr. Ellis, 'could be proved by reiterated assertion.' 'I have counted eighteen cases in five pages,' the Oxford Professor goes on to state—mercifully overlooking the advertisement on the cover of the *Classical Review*, issued under the authority of the Oxford Press. And by way of coup-de-grâce, 'against any such

hazardous conclusion, I consider myself bound once more to offer a determined and emphatic protest.'

In reply to all of which, may I be allowed to say that I know of nothing that should induce me to cancel the title under which my work was published, or to modify it in any way?

On the other side of the Atlantic, it is obvious that I cannot attend Professor Ellis's lectures, or even know when they are being delivered. My only information as to the one referred to is derived from what was said of it by another Oxford scholar who, in reviewing my *Anecdota* in the July number (1902) of the *Classical Review* (p. 322) mentioned Mr. Ellis's views

only to reject them. He also quoted Mr. Ellis on a minor point in regard to which I was afterwards able to set him right—I hope with a courtesy which did not merit the present outbreak (*Classical Review*, November, 1902, p. 401).

I do not know what the condition of the book-mark may be at the moment, but anyone who looks at the facsimile in my *Anecdoton*—taken within a day or two of its recovery—will have little difficulty in deciding that what Prof. Ellis inclines to take for a ‘half-erased *d*, corresponding in form to the first *d* of *de conventu*’ is the common contraction mark following the *n* of *Clun*. Against the view of Prof. Ellis and his two friends, (only one of whom, by the way, he can describe as being ‘extremely well-versed in MSS.’) I could at once have quoted from letters addressed to me by various palaeographical experts; but it seemed wise to write for permission to use their names in a controversy which (be it remembered) is not of my seeking. Mr. Ellis appeals to M. Delisle, and I go with him to the judgment-seat. This is what M. Delisle says on the subject, through M. Omont, writing under date February 1st 1903:—

‘M. Delisle est toujours d’avis que le MS. de Holkham doit, comme vous l’avez fait, être identifié avec le n. 498 de l’ancien catalogue de Cluny, auquel il paraît tout à fait répondre. La lecture de *conventu Clun* est non moins certaine et ne peut être interprétée autrement que de *conventu Cluniacensi*. Vous avez du reste répondu déjà à l’avance à toute objection, en faisant remarquer que cette même formule *conventu Cluniacensi* a été employée en tête de la liste des livres de L’Abbé Yves * * * * En tout cas, et comme nous vous l’avons déjà écrit, l’origine clunisienne du MS. de Holkham paraît bien tout à fait hors de doute, après toutes les preuves que vous avez apportées.

I might also cite Dr. George F. Warner, who gives me leave to refer to him, in a letter just received, as well as to Sir E. Maunde Thompson and Dr. Kenyon, his fellow-editors for the New Palaeographical Society. Each of these experts has had an opportunity of considering the facsimile reproduction of the library-mark in the light of Professor Ellis’s difficulties, and each remains unmoved.

As to the entry in the old Cluni Cata-

logue, I agree with M. Delisle that the codex now at Holkham is therein ‘bien nettement décrit.’ Prof. Ellis tells us that he has argued against this also in his public lecture, and when I know what his argument was I may attempt to deal with it. The entry runs as follows: ‘Volumen in quo continetur Cicero in Catillina (!) et idem pro Quinto Ligario, et pro rege Dejotaro, et de publicis litteris et de actione, idemque in Verrinis.’ Strict accuracy cannot be looked for in a title drafted by a person who could write *Catillina*, and I hold by my original view that *de publicis litteris* resulted from a confusion with the main title of a sub-heading, such as *EX LITTERIS PUBLICIS* at iii. § 89 (cp. *ibid* § 74). A similar explanation may be held to cover also *de actions*: *ACTIO* or *ACTIONIS* would certainly appear somewhere in connection with the Third Book, now missing. The cataloguer may possibly have taken it from a colophon. In view of such carelessness, I incline now more than ever to believe that the Cluni codex *did* originally contain the *pro Marcello*, and that this speech was inadvertently passed over by the person who concocted the title for the catalogue. It is difficult to believe that the *pro Marcello* did not precede the *pro Ligario*, as in the *Ambrosianus*, and other MSS. of the same family.

W. PETERSON.

McGILL UNIVERSITY, MONTREAL.
February, 1903.

POSTSCRIPT.

I take the opportunity of this communication to say that I do not understand the note which T. Stangl has appended to a very valuable and highly appreciative review of my *Anecdoton* in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* (3rd January, 1903). He thinks that anyone who reads ‘*et de publicis litteris . . . idemque in Verrinis*’ together, (as a description of the Second and Third Verrines) must construe *idemque* as = *idem* (cp. *hodieque*, *hodie*.) But it is unnecessary to do anything of the kind. The cataloguer may have had some other means of knowing that the main part of the Cluni codex consisted of the Verrine speeches, and so he manages to finish up all right with ‘*idemque in Verrinis*’—using a form of entry rendered familiar by the quotations of grammarians: but in the long interval between the end of the *Pro Rege Dejotaro* and the end of the Third

Book of the Verrines (where there was probably a colophon, which may have suggested to him in *Verrinis*, if not also the

false *de actione*) he wrongly inserts the headings which have given rise to the confusion. W. P.

REVIEWS.

BEVAN'S *PROMETHEUS BOUND* OF AESCHYLUS.

The Prometheus Bound of Aeschylus rendered into English verse by EDWYN ROBERT BEVAN. Pp. xxxix, 90. Sm. 4to. London, David Nutt, 1902. 5s. net.

It is a real pleasure to welcome this translation. Having the chance of writing on this subject, I would repeat a principle I stated some ten years ago, which I think is true at any rate of languages possessing old traditions like our own,—that for true artistic form translations should be made with reference to the whole literature in either language, and that convincing translation is possible whenever the translator's literature contains a native model corresponding. Jowett in our time was able to translate Plato; but this could not have been artistically done before our prose had reached that capability of ease and grace and eloquence which he has used so admirably. When the question is debated, how to translate Homer, the first answer is that we never shall be able to translate him satisfactorily, because there is no such native Homer in the language; and if we are at a loss to translate Pindar worthily,¹ the reason is that we have nothing corresponding either to the sort of verse or to the form of composition.

With Tragedy however—the dialogue at least—we are in a different position; and Mr. Bevan, taking the same view (p. viii), has chosen for his models Milton, the Bible, and the Dramatists, blending all, but rightly, I think, here with a preponderance of Milton. 'The blank verse,' as he says

¹ Even by combining the style of *The Wisdom of Solomon* with a Celtic manner:

Farewell, ye splendid citadel, Metropolis, called Paris,
Where Phoebus every morning shoots refulgent beams;
Where Flora's bright Aurora, advancing from the Orient,
With radiant light illumines the pure shining streams.

This ballad was a favourite with Macaulay (Sir George Trevelyan, *Life*, II. p. 94).

(p. ix), 'and the style of diction, which had been developed by the Elizabethan drama, was taken up by Milton and subjected to modifications and refinements under the very influence of classical types, and the Bible: it became something less adapted for dramatic uses, but it gained in richness, in elaborate pomp, and in organic structure,' Greek Tragedy, consisting largely of set speeches, was always more declamatory than with us; and this is true especially of the *Prometheus*: Milton here, as in other respects, is our nearest single parallel to Aeschylus. This is a specimen of Mr. Bevan's verse, v. 351:

Also it moved my pity, when I saw
That creature, spawn'd of Earth, that housed
erewhile
In the Cilician caves, a grisly fiend
With heads five-score, how he was quell'd
amain,
Tempestuous Typhon. All the banded gods
He dared to battle, from prodigious jowls
Hissing terrific, while his eyes display'd
Glare of great lightnings, so as he would
storm
By force Heaven's high supremacy, but soon
The bolt of Zeus that sleeps not found him
out,
The downward-ruining thunder, quick with
flame,
And reft him at a clap from all his vaunts
And swelling bravery. Full amidst it took
him,
And charr'd, and blasted all his strength to
nothing.
And now, a useless body unstrung, he lies
Hard by a narrow passage of the seas,
Under the roots of Etna crush'd and
cramm'd
While over him, high on the peak,
Hephai-tos
Sits at his forge-work. Thence one day
shall burst
Rivers of fire, with fierce jaws ravening up
The golden-fruited sweet Sicilian sward.

The most jealous lover of Aeschylus might admit, I think, that the original is worthily represented here.

On p. 89 Mr. Bevan makes a suggestion that seems right to me: 'Line 431. The description of the mourning of inanimate nature is usually connected with the reference to Atlas. It seems more naturally to follow on the description of the mourning of mankind for Prometheus. Hence Ribbeck was for *transposing* the last strophe and antistrophe. A more satisfactory method is to suppose that the part of the Chorus which sings the parenthesis referring to Atlas is not the same as that which sang the passage before and continues the theme of the mourning in *βοῶ δὲ πόντιος κλύδων κτλ.*' The Introduction is interesting, the remarks, for instance, on the conception of Oceanus (p. xxx), whose character as a trimmer, I may add, had been developed in the Orphic poems; and the geographical notes, as is natural from the historian of the Seleucid

Empire, are very well worth reading: on p. xxxvi Mr. Bevan says, 'No one can fail to see that these geographical descriptions are an object in themselves and the main purpose for which the poet introduced Io. The geographical parts of the play were perhaps *considerably* longer even than they now appear, in the original text.' Surely they were an object in themselves; a theme in which so many romantic poets have delighted, Aeschylus, Marlowe, and Milton beyond all: Clytemnestra's description of the beacons is but one example of a practice which we do not need the scholiast on *P.V.* 733 to tell us was habitual with Aeschylus, and which those to whom romantic poetry appeals have seldom failed to feel that he has fully justified. Poets, as Aristides says, love to rehearse and decorate the names of rivers and of countries; while inaccuracy and freedom of imagination are their ancient and traditional privileges.

W. HEADLAM.

NEWMAN'S *POLITICS OF ARISTOTLE*.

The Politics of Aristotle: with an Introduction, two Prefatory Essays, and Notes Critical and Explanatory. By W. L. NEWMAN, M.A., Hon. Litt. D. Cambridge, Fellow of Balliol College, and formerly Reader in Ancient History in the University of Oxford. Vol. III. Two Essays. Books III., IV., and V. Text and Notes. Pp. xlvii, 603. Vol. IV. Essay on Constitutions, Books VI.-VIII. Text and Notes. Pp. lxx., 708. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1902. Price 28s.

THE completion of this work reflects credit upon English scholarship. It is unlikely that more will ever be done by erudition and patient labour for the interpretation and illustration of an ancient classic than has been done here. To its value for the historical student I hope to return on some other occasion.

Much of the Commentary deals with minute points of grammar, and the questions raised tend to enlarge and render more precise our acquaintance with the author's idiom. Indeed, as a reference to the copious grammatical index will shew, Mr. Newman has himself laid a solid foundation for that grammar of Aristotelian Greek, which he desiderated in the *C.R.* ten years ago.

Attention may be called to his treatment of some matters directly affecting the text, e.g. the absence or insertion of the article in clauses of the type τοῦ σκίπτρον ἐπανάστασις, vol. iii., p. 275; repetition of prepositions, vol. iii. p. 112; the awkward recurrence of prepositions, vol. iii. p. 369; the supply of words from the context, e.g., τῶν μέρων from πολυμεροῦς, 1311 a 33, ἀρχὴν from μοναρχίῳ, 1279 a 34, τὸν μισθὸν from ἀμίσθους 1320 a 18; lastly, to an interesting appendix on the use of hyperbaton, vol. iii. p. 579. The position maintained in this appendix, namely that departures from the *simplex ordo* in the *Politics* are to be explained as due to emphasis, does not appear to me to be the whole truth. I should be inclined to attribute them quite as often to considerations of euphony, a desire to avoid monotony and to escape from the commonplace by introducing into prose many of the complex rhythmical effects of verse, a mannerism which came in with Isocrates and has been traced in a more or less marked degree among many of his contemporaries, especially in Plato's later dialogues. Perhaps, however, Mr. Newman's use of emphasis may be wide enough to include this; all I would contend for, is that the mannerism is in many cases adopted for its own sake, and has little to

do with the meaning to be conveyed, affecting not the thing said but merely the way of saying it. Another investigation concerns the position of the adjective and noun, when the article is not used. Mr. Newman's canon is: 'When an adjective and substantive are without the article, the substantive is usually in the *Politics* placed first and the adjective second, but now and then the reverse order is adopted. When under these circumstances the adjective is placed first it is usually intended to be emphasized. Πολύς and some other adjectives are exceptions to this rule; they commonly precede the substantive with which they agree and are placed after it when they are emphatic.' (vol. iii. p. 137.) This opens out a wide field of inquiry, for if the induction be valid, it can hardly be confined to the *Politics*. The results of such an inquiry should be of considerable importance in Aristotelian studies. But it is to the textual results of the editor's labours that I must confine myself in this notice.

In editing Books I. and II. Mr. Newman appeared as an eminently conservative critic, every word in his text had manuscript authority. In the direction of emendation, he went no further than to adopt Spengel's more sensible division of the letters ἀριστ' ἀρχην for the otherwise unknown ἀρισταρχεῖν 1273 b 5, and to read ἐπίσκηψιν with Scaliger and Bentley at 1274 b 7 for ἐπίσκηψιν. He indulged in no lacuna, no transposition, square brackets were sparingly employed—once or twice for a couple of words, 1263 a 13, 1266 a 18, 1270 b 22, and in the suspected chapter xii. of Book II., he was content to bracket half a dozen lines [Φαλέων... ἀχρηστον, 1274 b 9–15]. In the new volumes the rôle of conservative editor is from the nature of the case less easy; or possibly upon further study of the text, the editor has somewhat modified the rigidity of his critical principles. A sparing use is made of emendation and transposition, once or twice we find indications of words missing in the printed text. But he is still conservative and is seen at his best when defending the traditional text. Thus, to take a few examples—he refuses to alter οὔτε at 1293 a 9 for the sake of grammatical smoothness into οὐδέ, as other editors have done (cp. 1257 b 12, 1330 b 16). He does not insert πρὸς τὴν ψυχὴν in the text at 1340 b 19, he prefers to understand it: 1329 a 5 πότερον ἔτερα καὶ ταῦτα θετέον ἢ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀποδοτέον ἄμφο, seems to him correct and the insertion of ἐτέροις with Coraes and Bekker² unnecessary. Take again ἡ γὰρ φύσις δέδωκε τὴν διαίρεσιν, ποιήσασα αὐτὸ τῷ γένει

ταῦτὸ τὸ μὲν νεώτερον τὸ δὲ πρεσβύτερον. Here αὐτὸ is the reading of P² ³ ⁴ ⁵ etc., omitted by P¹ and Aretinus, deserted by Bekker in favour of αὐτῷ on the authority of M¹ and the Aldine. But it makes perfectly good sense, Mr. Newman joining αὐτὸ with ταῦτὸ τῷ γένει renders 'for nature has furnished us with the distinction, having made that which is the same in kind itself of two parts, the one younger and the other older.' Again at 1307 b 32–34, where Π² are defective from homoeoteleuton he restores from M¹ P¹ λαμβάνει γὰρ παραδιδωμένη ἡ παρανομία ὥστερ τὰς οὐσίας τὸ μικρὸν δαπάνημα ἀναρεῖ πολλάκις γινόμενον, agreeing independently (as we learn from the critical note) with the last impression of the Teubner text. That this is correct, he proves from the similar language of Plato *Rep.* 424 D, and in quoting this passage to determine the text of the *Politics*, Mr. Newman has been anticipated by Susemihl.¹

It is more open to doubt whether ἄγειν, the reading of M¹ P¹ is equally right at 1336 a 6 οἷς ἐπιμελὲς ἔστιν ἄγειν τὴν πολεμικὴν ζῆν. Here Π² give αἰεὶ and Vetus Versio *inducere*. Mr. Newman admits that ἄγειν is usually rendered *ducere* and sometimes *adducere* by Vet. Int., though rendered by *inducere* in 1306 a 3. It would seem that ἄγειν τὴν πολεμικὴν ζῆν is a little odd for 'to create the military habit' and it is hardly borne out by the editor's quotation of ἄγειν χορόν from Aristot. *Fragm.* 627. 1584 a 16 τὸν δὲ ἀρξάμενον τῆς πόλεως Ἀριστοτέλης Ἀριωνά φησιν εἶναι, ὅς πρῶτος τὸν κύκλον ἡγάγε χορόν. Another reading of M¹ P¹, which has been unreasonably suspected, I mean καὶ γυνὴ λάλος, εἰ οὕτω κοσμία εἶη κ.τ.λ., 1277 b 23, receives confirmation from Philemon *Adelphoe*, *Frag.* 2, where λαλεῖν is similarly contrasted with κόσμιος εἶναι. This is one of several instances in which the editor has illustrated the language and subject-matter of his author from the Greek comic poets.

If we now inquire in what relation this text of the *Politics* stands to that of Immanuel Bekker, in its original form, while we fully admit the immense stride which Bekker made, it is clear that we are now in a position to judge more dispassionately the text of 1831. Bekker had not all the materials before him, he did not always use them with sufficient care or judgment and he adopted (this is more often the case with Bekker²) unnecessary emendations. In some three

¹ De Pol. Arist. *Quaestiones Criticae*. 1886, p. 446. Mr. Newman is throughout so scrupulous in pointing out anticipations of his views, that this must have been overlooked by him.

hundred places where Mr. Newman diverges from Bekker's original text, he almost invariably produces evidence, which commands respect, even if it does not carry conviction at the first glance. We may set on one side proposals to transpose, to bracket words, and to mark lacunae ('chasms in the text' is Mr. Newman's phrase) which can hardly ever command universal acceptance. Nor do the editor's own emendations, few as they are, appear altogether indispensable. At 1328 b 4, he proposes to insert α before $\alpha\nu\alpha\gamma\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\nu$ $\dot{\iota}\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\epsilon\iota\nu$ where M^P give $\delta\dot{\iota}\omega$, omitted by Π^2 . The reading of Π^2 which is Bekker's text, will construe, and the change, though tempting, fails to account for $\delta\dot{\iota}\omega$ in Π^1 . At 1331 b 4, $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\tau\omicron$ $\pi\lambda\eta\theta\omicron\varsigma$ $\delta\iota\alpha\iota\tau\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\iota$ $\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\dot{\iota}\epsilon\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$, $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ is proposed in place of $\pi\lambda\eta\theta\omicron\varsigma$ and the sense of the passage would be improved by the change. In the apparently mutilated passage $\mu\eta\delta\epsilon\nu$ $\eta\gamma\gamma\iota\nu$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\pi\alpha\iota\delta\omicron\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\beta\omicron\nu$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\gamma\upsilon\mu\alpha\sigma\tau\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon$ $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\sigma\kappa\epsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\iota$ $\tau\epsilon$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\nu$ $\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}$ $\tau\eta\nu$ $\delta\acute{\upsilon}\nu\alpha\mu\iota\nu$, he is prepared to accept Bekker's $\omicron\delta\delta\epsilon\nu$ for $\mu\eta\delta\epsilon\nu$, and to shift the place of $\tau\epsilon$ to follow $\pi\alpha\iota\delta\omicron\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\beta\omicron\nu$. In the same book, Chapter xiv, an attempt is made to frame a text of the corrupt passage 1300 a 23—b 5, which compares favourably with the former attempts by Thurot, Spengel, and Susemihl. At 1301 b 26—28, Mr. Newman reads $\pi\alpha\nu\tau\alpha\gamma\omicron\upsilon$ $\gamma\alpha\rho$ $\delta\dot{\iota}\alpha$ $\tau\omicron$ $\alpha\nu\iota\sigma\omicron\nu$ η $\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ $\omicron\upsilon$ $\mu\eta\nu$ ($\epsilon\iota$)¹ $\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ $\alpha\nu\iota\sigma\omicron\iota\varsigma$ $\dot{\iota}\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\epsilon\iota$ $\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\nu$ ($\alpha\dot{\iota}\delta\iota\omicron\varsigma$ $\gamma\alpha\rho$ $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$ $\alpha\nu\iota\sigma\omicron\varsigma$, $\epsilon\grave{\alpha}\nu$ η $\epsilon\nu$ $\dot{\iota}\sigma\omicron\iota\varsigma$), inserting $\epsilon\iota$ and interpreting 'Civil discord arises on account of inequality, not however if unequals receive in proportion to the inequality subsisting between them; (for a perpetual kingship is unequal [only] if it exists among equals).' Surely the insertion of $\epsilon\iota$ is gratuitous. Assuming that Mr. Newman has rightly interpreted $\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ $\alpha\nu\iota\sigma\omicron\iota\varsigma$ $\dot{\iota}\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\epsilon\iota$ $\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\nu$, it is plain from his translation that he regards these words as describing the case in which civil strife is *not* likely to arise, and the text unaltered would give this meaning if the sentence $\omicron\upsilon$ $\mu\eta\nu$. . . $\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\nu$ be taken to refer, like the preceding sentence, to the case where strife is likely to arise: if, that is, instead of completing the sentence (as I suppose the editor to do) $\omicron\upsilon$ $\mu\eta\nu$ (*sc. δὲ διὰ τὸ αὐτὸν ἢ στάσις*), $\epsilon\iota$ $\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ $\alpha\nu\iota\sigma\omicron\iota\varsigma$ $\dot{\iota}\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\epsilon\iota$ $\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\nu$, we complete it thus: $\omicron\upsilon$ $\mu\eta\nu$ $\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ $\alpha\nu\iota\sigma\omicron\iota\varsigma$ (*sc. τοῖς στασιάζουσιν*) $\dot{\iota}\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\epsilon\iota$ $\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\nu$. Two conditions are laid down, (1) the presence of inequality, (2) that it is not proportional

¹ Mr. Newman employs curved brackets for words conjecturally inserted in the text as well as for marks of punctuation.

inequality, and both refer to the same set of circumstances.

But when these slight deductions are made, it will, I think, be admitted that we have here a more faithful presentment of the whole tradition than has ever appeared before. It is conceivable, though not, I think, probable, that the editor's verdict in favour of Π^2 against Π^1 may hereafter be challenged, but the greater number of his divergencies from Bekker, who himself chiefly followed Π^2 , will not be affected if this happens. The advance upon Bekker is in most cases due to critical insight, a prolonged study of the MSS. of that family and irrefragable inferences as to their comparative merits. No subsequent editor would dream of imitating Bekker in his occasional lapses, as when for instance he prefers the reading of Π^3 , *i.e.* inferior MSS. of the second family, or some of them, to that of its better representatives.² Now and then Bekker's text rests merely on one or two of these inferior MSS. (1298 b 7 $\mu\epsilon\nu$ added after $\delta\epsilon\mu\omicron\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\eta}$ L^b , Ald.; 1290 a 21; $\tau\eta\nu$ before $\Phi\rho\gamma\gamma\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}$ Q^b ; 1321 a 5 $\beta\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\nu\sigma\omicron\nu$ with R^b ; 1320 b 38 $\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu\alpha\tau\alpha\iota$ with Ald.). So at 1325 a 39, Bekker reads $\dot{\iota}\pi\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$, a doubtful word with S^b alone, where Mr. H. Richards, doubting if $\dot{\iota}\pi\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ is any better attested than $\dot{\iota}\pi\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$, would suggest $\dot{\iota}\pi\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\nu$ $\epsilon\chi\epsilon\iota\nu$ in place of $\dot{\iota}\pi\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$, the reading of all other authorities and of Mr. Newman. But errors of this kind are trivial in comparison with Bekker's fatal confidence in that very corrupt MS. P^5 , which misled him in more than a dozen passages, notably 1307 b 32—34 noticed above. That Bekker should have collated P^5 throughout and omitted to collate P^1 seems nowadays inexplicable. So much for the still prevalent idea that Bekker's text, because founded on Π^2 remains our sole trustworthy guide.³

On the other hand there are many passages in which the reading of Π^1 is preferred and a fair sprinkling where the editor has adopted the conjectures of his predecessors. It is just possible that owing to these innovations the editor may fail to please some critics. To deal with the last named matter first, it should be remembered

² *e.g.* 1275 b 32 $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\gamma\alpha\rho$ $\omicron\upsilon$ with P^4 Q^b T^b L^a . I have noted thirty-two similar instances in the last six books. To these should be added 1252 a 15 $\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ om. Π^3 Bk. and fourteen other instances in Books I and II.

³ An eminent scholar has declared that he deliberately prefers to quote from it, in order to escape the 'bad tradition' of inferior authorities. In view of the facts this seems very like 'out of the frying pan into the fire.'

that conjectures which Bekker adopted in one or other of his editions, have not fared particularly well, most of them are now ejected from the text. Who for instance at 1275 a 13 with an intelligible *ῥοτε* before him would dream of resorting to the conjecture *δὲ*? Who would omit the idiomatic *καὶ* after *ὥσπερ* introducing an illustration at 1255 a 36, or arbitrarily change the traditional order of the words *εἰ σώματα διακείμενα* to *σώματα εἰ διακείμενα*, 1320 b 33¹? Whether the emendations which the editor has admitted will stand the test of time any better than those which he has excluded it is not for me to say; I fear there is little chance of their being verified by fresh discoveries in the same way in which the Vatican Palimpsest has confirmed Perizonius' *δοτῶν*, 1278 a 34. But to return to the fascinating problem of the two recensions Π^1 and Π^2 . In considering their comparative merits, Mr. Newman makes an interesting attempt to determine the sources of error in some or all of the MSS. vol. iii. p. vii. *sqq.* Apart from the common faults of dittography, lipography and insertion of marginal glosses, these are found to be more particularly (1) mechanical omissions of short words, initial or final syllables, occasionally of letters in the middle of a word; (2) misinterpretation of contractions in the archetype, similar to those employed in the papyrus of the *Ἀθ. Πολ.*; here the scribe of that otherwise badly copied MS, *M*⁶, becomes an invaluable detective, reproducing the contractions which he failed to decipher, as shown in the critical notes of Susemihl's editions *e.g.* 1337 a 28, 1283 b 9, 1335 a 27. All this is familiar, but Mr. Newman calls special attention to an additional cause of error, (3) the tendency, of Π^1 more especially, 'to introduce a word into the text which they repeat from a neighbouring line, often the preceding or following line, the word thus repeated sometimes extruding another word from the text and sometimes not doing so.' Thus in 1255 a 24 *ἄμα* is displaced by *ὅλως*, probably repeated from a 21;

¹ The following is a list of emendations introduced by Bekker² in Books III—V: 1282 a 11 *ὅς τοι* Coraes; 1286 a 32 <*γάρ*> Bk²; 1330 b 5 *εὐρησθαι* Lambinus; b 7 *ἐπιλείπειν* Coraes; 1333 b 31 *τῷ* Scaliger; 1333 b 38 [*αἰτῶν*] Bk²; 1334 b 1 *γίνεσθαι* Schneider; b 11 [*καὶ*] Coraes; 1335 a 38 *συνουσίαν* Zwinger; 1336 b 4 *ἐπερ* Lambinus; b 17 *τοῦτος* Reizius; 1340 a 27 *αὐτοῦ* Ar. Lambinus, Scaliger; *ἰδ.* *ἐκείνου* Lambinus, Scaliger; 1340 b 8 [*τὰ*] Bk². In all of these Mr. Newman following Susemihl returns to the text of the MSS. and of Bekker.³ Space forbids me to quote thirty similar instances in the last three books. To these must be added four instances in Books I and II.

in 1266 a 37 *ἀναγκαῖον* is added after *εἶναι*, being repeated from *ἀναγκαῖον* in the preceding line. With this weapon the editor attacks twelve out of sixty-two variations of reading of a less minute kind, tabulated in vol. iii. p. xiii. *sqq.* Obviously this consideration must be applied with all due caution, although no one will find fault with the suggestion that this may be the source of error in three difficult passages, 1267 a 8 *ἐπιθυμοῖεν* (? *ἀδικοῖεν*); 1268 b 1 *γεωργήσῃ*; 1329 a 14 *πολιτεῖαν* (? *λειτουργίαν*). His conclusion is that these sources of error affect both recensions alike, but that Π^1 are more likely to err than Π^2 ,² and the cumulative effect of the evidence is strengthened by comparison of the two recensions when they present the same words in a different order, vol. iii. p. 581 *sqq.* The peculiar inversions which are sometimes classed with hyperbaton are found more frequently in Π^2 , the inference being that the variations, which return to the *simplex ordo*, are due to arbitrary change. And this agrees with other traces of variations due to grammarian revisers exhibited in vol. iii. p. xix. *sq.* Thus while a firm but temperate champion of Π^2 , the editor is not precluded from admitting the superior claims of numerous readings of Π^1 .

If these volumes had been published in the life time of the late Professor Susemihl, to whose memory Mr. Newman pays a graceful tribute in the preface of vol. iii, I have reason to believe that he would have been gratified by what seems to be the closer approximation of the results of divergent critical methods, especially in the later books.³ He would have been glad to see

² It seems to me that a re-arrangement of MSS. is desirable. The agreement of P^2 and P^3 should be indicated by a special symbol—say Π^4 . It would immensely simplify matters if Π^3 were consigned to the rubbish heap, and if, while P^1 , P^2 , P^3 , M^5 and the Vatican Palimpsest, which have been carefully collated, were retained in the *apparatus criticus*, occasional variants of the inferior MSS., and renderings of Moerbeke and Aretinus, were cited only when they are really helpful.

³ Susemihl made some 945 innovations in Bekker's original text. Of these Mr. Newman has adopted some 304, if my calculations are correct. Taking the books as numbered by Mr. Newman, the figures are: Book I., Susemihl 70, Newman 14; Book II., Susemihl 162, Newman 53; Book III., Susemihl 137, Newman 35; Book IV., Susemihl 184, Newman 62; Book V., Susemihl 72, Newman 27; Book VI., Susemihl 124, Newman 53; Book VII., Susemihl 128, Newman 56; Book VIII., Susemihl 68, Newman 24. It will be noticed that the proportion is highest in the last three Books, and lowest in Books I and II. I have included proposals for transposition and the bracketing of words amongst the innovations I have counted, but not changes of punctuation generally.

that at 1287 a 29, the reading *τὸν νοῦν μόνους* is adopted with the Vossian MS. of Julian where all our other authorities and all other MSS. of Julian give *τοὺς νόμους*; a correction which, if right, is calculated to arouse misgivings as to many other passages where the traditional text runs with at least equal smoothness. With his fondness for transposition, he would have welcomed the occasional adoption by Mr. Newman of this device; 1335 a 29 *ἡ μικρόν* transferred to the previous line a 28, at 1292 b 32 *δὲ πᾶσι τοῖς κτησαμένοις* *ἔξιστι μετέχων* to follow *δημοκρατικόν* b 32, and at 1317 b 30 *ἡ τῶν μεγίστων* to the preceding line as suggested by Götting, Rasso, and the third Basel edition respectively; and still more readily would he have welcomed the shifting of 1303 b 3-7 *στασιάζουσι . . . ὄντες* and of 1312 a 17 *μάλιστα . . . ἐπιθέσεις* from their position in the text, although the place to which Mr. Newman transfers the two passages is not precisely that which he himself assigned to them. He would have approved the adoption of a few conjectures

at 1325 b 7, 1333 b 37, 1299 b 14, 1290 b 15, 1302 a 14 of Thurot and Bojesen, whose critical studies he was one of the first to appreciate. Of the many longer passages condemned by him as spurious just one is enclosed in square brackets in the present volumes, but here there is not as much difference as at first sight appears, for no one has presented the case against the suspected chapters more skilfully or fully than Mr. Newman; only when it comes to execution he stays his hand, and for my part I fail to see why he should have summed up courage to condemn on internal grounds the single passage in question, 1315 b 11-39, when so many worse offenders escape. On the whole I venture to believe that the more valuable and enduring results of Susemihl's pioneer labours are enshrined in these volumes. Mr. Newman may be congratulated on having achieved a work which will long be a landmark for students of the *Politics*.

R. D. HICKS.

ADAM'S *REPUBLIC OF PLATO*.

The Republic of Plato. Edited with Critical Notes, Commentary, and Appendices, by JAMES ADAM, M.A., Hon. LL.D. of Aberdeen University. 2 vols. Pp. xvi, 364; 532. Cambridge University Press. 1902. 33s. net.

THE present edition, full as it is, is so far incomplete that the editor looks forward to the publication of 'an introductory volume, to which occasional reference is made throughout the notes.' This volume, we are told, 'will deal *inter alia* with the MSS. and date of composition of the dialogue, and will also include an essay on the style of Plato, together with essays on various subjects connected with the doctrine of *The Republic*.' In judging the work before us we have then to remember that a good many points are reserved. But the most cursory acquaintance with these two volumes is sufficient to convince the reader of the great stride towards the better understanding and appreciation of *The Republic* which they represent. Dr. Adam shows his qualifications for the work he has undertaken by the admission in his Preface that 'in one sense of the term there can never be a definitive or final interpretation of *The Republic*.' It

is partly by his apprehension of this truth that he has produced what must be regarded as the characteristic and adequate interpretation of the work for at least the present generation. One source of strength in the edition is the definiteness and strict limitation of its scope. It is not, in its attitude to the doctrines conveyed, either largely critical or historical, but in the main purely expository. 'Any systematic attempt,' we are told in the Preface, 'to trace the connexion between Platonism and modern political, religious, or philosophical theory is foreign to the scope of this edition.' But it would be a great mistake to infer from this that the editor's attitude is a dry scholastic one. The spirit and secret of the book is that the editor looks at Plato's work *from the inside*; he speaks as a disciple, not to say a prophet, of Plato. 'We can only rejoice,' we read, 'that Platonism is still a living force in both philosophy and in religion; *ἔτι ἡλιος ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄρεσι καὶ οὕτω δέδωκεν*.' Thus the commentary not only exhibits a rich acquaintance with modern thought and literature, but may be said to be permeated with the modern spirit, in that at every turn it brings Platonism into touch

with the needs of our time. A list of the works referred to in illustration would be interesting, perhaps astonishing; possibly we may find this included in the forthcoming volume.

As a discussion of the MSS. of *The Republic* is one of the subjects reserved for the volume referred to, no examination of the critical basis of the text is at present called for. Dr. Adam abides by the principles adopted in his text of *The Republic* published in 1897, but says as to the present edition 'Considerably fewer emendations have been admitted than in my earlier edition, and in this as in other respects the text will be found to be conservative.' (See for an example of reaction 429 D.). I will cite one or two instances in which some may think that conservatism has been carried too far.

In i. 335 A the MSS. give Κελεύς δὲ ἡμᾶς προσθεῖναι τῷ δικαίῳ, ἢ, ὡς τὸ πρῶτον ἐλέγομεν, λέγοντες δίκαιον εἶναι τὸν μὲν φίλον εὖ ποιεῖν, τὸν δ' ἐχθρὸν κακῶς, νῦν πρὸς τούτῳ ὥδε λέγειν κτῆ; This reading Dr. Adam keeps: translating ἢ 'or in other words.' But Dr. Adam himself frankly says (Bk. i, App. iii.) 'It may seem an objection to the view which I take that ἢ in a sentence of this kind would naturally introduce an alternative, whereas πρὸς τούτῳ ὥδε λέγειν only explains προσθεῖναι.... Possibly ἢ should be replaced by καί. . but I am not convinced that ἢ does not sometimes mean "or in other words" even in classical Greek.' Examples however are not forthcoming. His objection to follow several editors by ejecting ἢ, which he admits gives the required sense ('do you bid us add to the view of justice which we first took, namely?') is that it fails to account for the presence of ἢ in the MSS. But apart from such a possibility, (in the case of so small an addition,) as the mere misreading of accidental scratches, ἢ may have been inserted by some scribe who misunderstood the construction and was familiar with the late Greek use of ἢ to introduce a synonym. In any case to hold that a MS. must never be assumed to be corrupt except where the corruption could be accounted for would be too strong doctrine. For instance, the intrusion of the words ὡς οἶται at 365 D, which Dr. Adam rightly excises, is very hard to account for. At the same time his denunciation of the frequent excisions made by Herwerden and others is wholesome and refreshing; though it must be said that the excisors, even when wrong, often do service by calling attention to difficulties that escape the notice of more easy-going readers.

At the difficult passage 488 D (τοῦ δὲ ἀληθίνου κυβερνήτου περί μὴδ' ἐπαίοντες ὅτι ἀνάγκη αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιῆσθαι ἐναντοῦ κτῆ... ὅπως δὲ κυβερνήσει... μῆτε τέχνην τούτου μῆτε μελέτην οἱ ὁ μ ε ν ο ι δυνατόν εἶναι λαβεῖν ἅμα καὶ τὴν κυβερνητικὴν I have thought for some time (*Proc. of Camb. Philol. Soc.* 1888 p. 14) that the true remedy was in cutting out οἰόμενοι, and a perusal of Dr. Adam's note and Appendix on the passage—and of Dr. Campbell's note on p. 79 of this Review—leaves me still impenitent. Οἰόμενοι was inserted by some one who, owing to the length of the sentence, did not see that all after μὴδ' ἐπαίοντες depended on those words. The two truths that the mob do not see are, firstly, that the Steersman must understand his Art, secondly, that it is impossible to combine the mastery of this Art with the mastery of the Art of office-seeking. (Popular rhetoric and philosophy cannot live together.) I agree with Dr. Campbell that, in ὅπως δὲ κυβερνήσει, ὅπως is final as in ὅπως ἄρξει above. As to ἐπαίοντες, it involves an anacoluthon; for it refers to the same people as ψέγοντας above. Dr. Adam says 'I should adopt the accusative with Stallbaum and others, were it not for οἰόμενοι.' If οἰόμενοι goes, we may be allowed to read ἐπαίοντας.

At 473 C εἰ καὶ μέλλει γέλῳτι τε ἀτεχνῶς ὥσπερ κύμα ἐγγελῶν καὶ ἀδοξία κατακλύσειν the word ἐγγελῶν is defended by Dr. Adam, as I now think, quite rightly. It is an exceedingly natural and picturesque word for the 'breaking' of a wave, and the fact that this metaphorical use does not occur elsewhere is not surprising.

Cautious as he is in admitting, and still more in proposing, conjectural emendations, we are prepared to find that those he gives (of which a most useful list is given in Index iii) are all worthy of serious consideration, indeed I should be disposed to say, after such examination as I have been able to make, of acceptance. At 365 DE abandoning the impossible text of the best MSS. Dr. Adam with some inferior MSS. reads οὐκοῦν, εἰ μὲν μὴ εἰσίν, ἢ μὴδὲν αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων μέλει, τί καὶ ἡμῖν μελητέον τοῦ λανθάνειν; and shows that Tucker's objection to καὶ rests on a mistranslation. Καὶ here, as in a hundred other instances in Plato, simply points the word that follows it: 'If the gods do not care, why should we care either—to elude them?'

On the scientific and technical side of *The Republic* it is difficult to overestimate the research exhibited in this edition or the value of the results. There are two large

provinces which exceed the measure of the present notice. One is the 'Nuptial Number' dealt with in Appendix I to Bk. viii (vol. ii. pp. 264-312.) The treatment here is largely based on the pamphlet ('The Number of Plato') published by Dr. Adam in 1891, but with modifications, due partly to further reflection, partly to the criticisms of the Provost of Oriel and others. The other is the astronomical passage 616 B-617 B, dealt with in Appendix VI to that Book, as to which we are told 'This Appendix is the result of prolonged discussions with Professor Cook Wilson, and freely reproduces nearly all his most important arguments.' The view of Boeckh is subjected to severe criticism.

The many musical passages are illustrated in a most interesting manner. We may instance the notes on Bk. iii. 398 c foll., the passage dealing with the admissible modes and rhythms. It is made clear that *παγαμόνιον* is not, (in Plato, at any rate), any more than *πολύχορδία*, the name of a particular musical instrument. To suppose so is a mistake similar to a notion that 'the chromatic' was the name of a kind of instrument to-day. A useful addition to the note on 399 c comes from Mr. Archer-Hind, who suggests that the *παγαμόνιον* was 'a style of composition, in which the Tondichter passed freely from *δωριστί* to *φρυγιστί* and *λυδιστί* and as many others as he chose.' At this point the close connexion between *τὸ πολύχορδον* and *τὸ παγαμόνιον* might be pressed. If a man has a lyre of eight strings he may of course tune them to any *ἁρμονία* he chooses. But if in the course of the same movement he wants to pass to another *ἁρμονία*, assuming that only open strings are used, he can only do it by having extra strings. Hence too the reason why the *αὐλὸς* is *πολύχορδος*. Here, if an extra interval is wanted, all that is necessary is to cut a fresh hole with, possibly, a plug worked by a key to fit it. While not ignoring the difference between modern keys and ancient modes, Plato's purism in objecting to the mixture of *ἁρμονίαι* may be paralleled from the views of some writers on orchestration, who upheld the old French horn, giving little more than the harmonics of its fundamental note, against the chromatic horn used by recent composers.

On 400 A (*ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς φθόγγοις τέτταρα, ὅθεν αἱ πᾶσαι ἁρμονίαι*) I think Dr. Adam certainly right in preferring the view put forward by Monro, that they are 'the four ratios which give the primary musical intervals—viz. the ratios 2:1, 3:2, 4:3, and

9:8, which give the octave, fifth, fourth, and tone.' It is noticeable that the only factors of these ratios are 2 and 3. The factor 5 appearing in the ratios 5:4, and 6:5, and 10:9 corresponding to the modern major third, minor third, and lower tone is ignored, and in the elaborate scale given in the *Timaeus* 35 B-36 B, the intervals corresponding most nearly to the thirds are given by much more elaborate fractions involving only the factors 2 and 3.

Side by side with this we must place the passage on Plato's ideal Harmonics in Bk. vii. 530, c foll. An excellent interpretation is given of the difficult passage 531 A, where the vagaries of the *μουσικοί* are described, (See App. xi). These disregarded ratios as a basis of music, and 'measured all intervals as multiples or fractions of the Tone' (Monro in *Dict. Ant.* ii. p. 193). This attitude would lead them to regard intervals as multiples of a *minimum audible*, and they naturally busied themselves to identify this *minimum*—an endless and hopeless task, as the smallest perceptible interval would differ with different ears. It is to disclose this secret, I think, that the strings are put upon the rack, while ears are bent down to catch their disclosures; they are thwacked with the plectrum; they suffer brow-beating (*κατηγορία*); they deny and brazen it out (*ἐξάνησις καὶ ἀλαζονεία*). Dr. Adam shows that this criticism is not only directed against the *μουσικοί*, or practical men, but also against the 'Pythagorean' school, who identified each interval with a ratio, but confined their investigations to the numbers or ratios of *audible* consonances. As to this paradox of the Platonic Education, its Astronomy without observation by eye, its Harmonics without observation by ear, while we are shown its weak side in the notes on 528 E, etc. and in App. ii. to Bk. vii, at the end of this Appendix the really valuable part of Plato's educational views is eloquently expressed. 'But when all is said and done, the abiding value of Plato's theory of Education is not affected by his misconception, if such it be, of the sciences of Astronomy and Harmonics. It may be doubted whether any writer has ever held so inspiring and profound a view of the aim and scope of education . . . Nothing is admitted into his scheme except what tends to keep alive humanity's most precious heritage, the love of truth and knowledge.' If Plato had given us nothing else, how inestimable would be our debt to him for his magnificent hopefulness as to the possi-

bilities of the human soul, as to the power of what man may do for man and man may do for himself!

Naturally there are many passages in the work on which the reader does not feel that the last word has been said, many as to which the editor does not claim this either. I will mention one that appears capable of a simpler treatment than it has received. In ix. 580 A, B if we had nothing but the context to help us to fix the meaning of the words $\delta\ \delta\iota\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\upsilon\kappa\tau\eta\varsigma$, we should certainly decide that the meaning was 'a judge who had (not merely to award a prize) but to draw up a list of competitors in order of merit.' The phrases $\delta\iota\ \pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\tau\epsilon$, $\delta\iota\ \pi\alpha\sigma\omega\upsilon$, referring to five notes, or all the notes, drawn up in a scale, is analogous to $\delta\iota\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\upsilon$ of all the *candidates* drawn up in a scale. The analogy is sufficient to defend the phrase, though strict parallels are wanting. I hold that there is here no reference to the manner of selecting the judges (as Petersen believes). The phrase $\delta\ \delta\iota\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\upsilon\ \alpha\gamma\omega\upsilon$ in Cratinus, if correctly explained in Bekker's *Anecdota* as $\delta\ \epsilon\zeta\chi\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$, cannot be relevant to the phrase in the *Republic*. In the Inscriptions the phrase seems capable of an interpretation consistent with that of the passage of Cratinus, but also irrelevant to the *Republic*. 'I cannot see,' says Dr. Adam, Bk. ix., App. ii., p. 375, 'that the Inscriptions hitherto discovered give us any real assistance in attempting to elucidate the sentence of Plato, and it should be further remarked that they are all of them as late as the days of the Empire.' We have to make out the place in the *Republic* on its merits, as common sense may best guide us. Darkness is better than a will-o'-the-wisp.

Dr. Adam believes in the unity of the *Republic* as a literary work, and looks with disfavour on the $\chi\omega\rho\iota\zeta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$. We are referred forward to the 'introductory' volume for arguments that the $\chi\omega\rho\iota\zeta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ have hitherto failed to prove their case. In the meantime some points bearing on the matter necessarily arise for treatment. The $\chi\omega\rho\iota\zeta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ have made much of supposed allusions in Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae* (produced between B.C. 393 and 390) to the community of wives and children proposed in iv. 423 E and worked out in Bk. v. of the *Republic*. As the whole of the *Republic* cannot have been produced so early, they draw the conclusion that the first five books were produced separately. Dr. Adam (note on 452 B, App. i. to Bk. v.) shows how slight are the grounds for assuming al-

lusions in Aristophanes to any part of the *Republic*. It was indeed absurd to suppose that Aristophanes had to go to Plato for the materials of his burlesque on a subject that was 'doubtless familiar enough as a topic of conversation in the more cultivated circles of Athenian society.' It would be interesting to see what sort of case could be made out that Tennyson's 'Princess' was a reply to Mill's 'Subjection of Women' by some one who did not happen to know that the poem preceded the essay by several years. On the other hand, Dr. Adam is 'strongly inclined to admit the probability that Plato had the *Ecclesiazusae* and its author in his mind when he wrote that part of the fifth book which deals with the subject of women and children.' (There are other references to the $\chi\omega\rho\iota\zeta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ in Bk. v., App. 4, 503 A, n.)

The treatment of the doctrine of Ideas is contained mainly in the notes on v. 476 A with App. vii. to that book, App. iii. to Bk. vii. ('On Plato's Dialectic,' and the notes on x. 596, 7.)

Two points stand out for remark in Dr. Adam's treatment. In the first place he holds out strongly for the high Platonic view that 'Each Idea is a single independent separate self-existing perfect and eternal essence,' and is impatient (justly, as I think) with the attempts of Letze, Lutoslawski, and others to whittle away the doctrine (vol. ii. pp. 169, 170).

In the second place the doctrine is regarded as something final. It is the doctrine itself, rather than its genesis, that is put forward as interesting and important. On 476 A it is remarked, 'This is the first appearance of the doctrine of Ideas, properly so-called, in the *Republic*. It should be carefully noted that Plato is not attempting to prove the theory: Glauco, in fact, admits it from the first.' Again, at 596 A, the *locus classicus* for the Ideal Theory in its most uncompromising form, Glauco is treated as 'already a loyal Platonist.' That Plato's treatment of the Ideas is different in different places is admitted; but this is merely because these several utterances are merely partial aspects of the whole theory. 'Plato is not bound to give an exhaustive account of the Ideal Theory whenever he has occasion to make use of it.' The emergence of this theory in Plato's works, however, remains an extremely difficult problem.

We shall be prepared to find Dr. Adam sympathising little with the attempt to make a chronological list of Plato's works in which a distinct development of the

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Ideal Theory may be traced. Thus, while allowing that the theory of Ideas which the Platonic *Parmenides* criticizes is that which appears in the *Republic* and the *Phaedo*, (ii. p. 173, n.), no explicit inference is made as to the order of these Dialogues. In the *Republic* Plato makes no reference to the difficulties of the immanence of the Ideas, 'whether because he had not yet realized the difficulty, or because he was occupied with other and more fruitful topics. The more poetical and figurative conception of the Idea as a *παράδειγμα* is found in the *Republic*, as in other dialogues, side by side with the doctrine of *παρονομία*, *μέθεξις* or *κοινωνία*.' (See in the same sense Vol. i. p. 364.) In App. iv. to Bk. ix. the priority of *Philebus* or *Republic* is left as a 'disputed question.' There is a certain non-committal tone in the sentence, 'But the full development of this side of Dialectic (*διαίρεσις*) belongs to a later period of Plato's life, if, as is now widely believed, the *Sophist* and *Politicus* are later than the *Republic*,' ii. p. 174, cf. p. 158. This comparative indifference to the problem of the order of the Platonic writings is quite in accord with the editor's main point of view. One who believes that Plato left an immense permanent legacy to the world will be more concerned in estimating the wealth that has come to him than in enquiring curiously how the testator came by it. On the other hand, there are many who feel that, just as

'The greatest gift the hero leaves his race
Is to have been a hero,'

so the greatest legacy of the philosopher is to have philosophized. These will regard Plato's career as simply one of the most sublime and enthralling attempts ever made at the discovery of a visionary Eldorado—attempts all more or less foredoomed to failure: *θεῖον μέντοι ἐξαιρῶμεν λόγον*. The attention of these will be centred much more in the incidents of the quest than on the spoils brought home.

I will conclude by briefly referring to the treatment of the crowning point of Plato's metaphysic—the Idea of the Good (notes on

vii. 505, 511, App. iii, p. 170 foll. etc.). 'It is highly characteristic of Plato's whole attitude that he finds the true keystone of the Universe . . . in no cold and colourless ontological abstraction like Being, but in that for which *πάντα ἡ κτίσις συστρεφάται καὶ συνωδίνει* (Rom. 8. 22.)—viz. τὸ ἀγαθόν' (509 n. n.). But our view of the Good must be made sufficiently large. A quotation from Mr. Shorey's tract 'On the Idea of Good in Plato's *Republic*,' which limits the Idea of Good to *human* happiness, *human* conduct, *human* laws is criticized as being 'scarcely more than half the truth.' The Good is 'the *πρῶτον φῶλον* for which the whole of Nature with greater or less degree of consciousness for ever yearns and strives.' But surely the object of *unconscious* tendency is not to be distinguished from Necessity. Thus does the Good as it soars further into the region of the abstract lose the light and warmth that forms for us the chief connotation of the word. It tends more and more to merge in mere Being, or to remove itself still further from our ken by sheltering itself in the region behind and above Being. In conceiving of the Good we can have either something that is Universal, or something that we can grasp and love. But can we have both? To some such question as this Dr. Adam finds for Plato the answer, 'Knowledge is not everything; we have *ἀνάμνησις* also . . . The progress of human knowledge from generation to generation will help to demonstrate the supremacy of the Good, of which by virtue of the *θεῖον τι ἐν ἡμῖν* we are already well assured.' (Vol. ii. p. 177.)

The accuracy of the printing throughout, and the completeness of the indices, are worthy of special mention. I have only come on two misprints. In the note on 372 D, for '543 E' we should apparently read '543 D.' In the note on 596 B 11, the fourth line from the end, there should be a semicolon after 'bed.' The insignificance of these mistakes is itself significant. I suppose there must be others.

E. SEYMER THOMPSON.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

ZEUS, JUPITER AND THE OAK.

SOME months ago I ventured to criticise in these columns (xvi. 365 ff.) the second edition of Dr. Frazer's *Golden Bough*. My criticism was partly destructive and partly constructive. On the one hand I objected to certain inconsistencies and improbable assumptions, as they then seemed to me, in Dr. Frazer's treatment of the Arician problem: on the other, I argued that the *rex Nemorensis* at Aricia was strictly comparable with the *rex sacrorum* at Rome. Since writing that review I have, at Dr. Frazer's request, reconsidered the whole question, taking into account sundry fresh facts and inferences courteously placed by him at my disposal. I have further collected for myself and sifted much of the evidence available for a broader study of classical oak-cults. And I may say at once that this more thorough investigation has led me to abandon my negative criticism, except such parts of it as related to the aforesaid inconsistencies. It has also induced me to develop my positive contention in a direction that I certainly did not foresee, namely as an argument for, not against, Dr. Frazer's general view. Indeed I now find myself so far in agreement with Dr. Frazer that I should be doing him a gross injustice and occupying a very false position, if I withheld the resultant theory from readers of my former article. This is, moreover, a fitting time for the publication of such views; for, apart from Dr. Frazer and his great work, others have recently called attention to the significance of the oak in Aryan worship. Dr. P. Wagler in 1891 published an excellent monograph entitled *Die Eiche in alter und neuer Zeit*, of which the first half appeared under the auspices of the Royal Gymnasium at Wurzen (Programm 541), the second as one of the *Berliner Studien* (xiii. pt. 2). Inspired by Wagler's example Prof. H. Osthoff among his *Etymologische Parerga* of 1901 included a long chapter (pp. 98-180) on 'Eiche und treue.' And in the same year came Dr. Schrader's invaluable *Reallexikon der Indogermanischen Altertumskunde* containing several articles ('Eiche,' 'Tempel,' 'Religion,' etc.) that bear on this topic. To all of these authors I am indebted, as the sequel will show; but my debts are, I hope, fully acknowledged each in its place.

It is now universally admitted that Ζεύς, the Greek form corresponding to an Indo-European *dyēu-s, denoted the 'bright' god who shone forth from the clear sky or veiled his face in the storm-clouds: as the *Iliad* has it (15, 192)

Ζεὺς δ' ἔλαχ' οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἐν αἰθέρι καὶ νεφέ-
λῃσιν.

It is not so widely recognised that Zeus, though primarily a sky-god, discharged on occasion other and very different functions. Where local circumstances suggested it, Zeus was specialised into a water-god or an earth-god: thus there was a cult of Zeus Ὀμβριος on Hymettus and Parnes (Paus. 1. 32. 2), of Zeus Ὑέτιος at Argos (Paus. 2. 19. 8), at Lebadea (Paus. 9. 39. 4), in Cos (Ditt.² 735. 3), on Tmolus (Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 48), of Zeus Θαλάσσιος at Sidon (Hesych. s.v. θαλάσσιος Ζεύς); and a cult of Zeus Χθόνιος at Olympia (Paus. 5. 14. 8), at Corinth (Paus. 2. 2. 8), in Myconus (Ditt.² 615. 25). At Corinth Zeus seems to have been worshipped under all three aspects: 'Of the images of Zeus,' says Pausanias (2. 2. 8. Frazer), 'which are also under the open sky, one has no surname; another is called Subterranean; and the third they name Highest.' Greek thinkers naturally arrived at the conclusion that one and the same Zeus was operant in sky and sea and land; e.g. Pausanias elsewhere (2. 24. 4. Frazer) writes—'All men agree that Zeus reigns in heaven, and there is a verse of Homer which gives the name of Zeus also to the god who is said to bear rule under the earth:—Both underground Zeus and august Proserpine (*Il.* 9. 457). Further, Aeschylus, son of Euphorion, applies the name of Zeus also to the god who dwells in the sea. So the artist, whoever he was, represented Zeus with three eyes, because it is one and the same Zeus who reigns in all the three realms of nature, as they are called.' Similarly Proclus (in *Plat. Crat.* p. 88 Boiss.) says of the three sons of Cronus: ὁ μὲν πρῶτος . . . καλεῖται μοναδικῶς Ζεὺς· ὁ δὲ δεύτερος διωδικῶς καλεῖται Ζεὺς ἐνάλιος καὶ Ποσειδῶν, ὁ δὲ τρίτος τριαδικῶς Ζεὺς καταχθόνιος καὶ Πλούτων καὶ Ἄϊδης, and the *Etym. mag.* 409, 5 ff. extends the name Ζεὺς to cover both τὸν Ποσειδῶνα, ὡς τὸ Ζεὺς δὲ κατὰ πόντον ἐτάραξεν and τὸν καταχθόνιον θεόν, ὡς τὸ Ζεὺς τε καταχθόνιος. But was this identification of Zeus with Poseidon and Hades

merely a piece of latter-day rationalism, or did it—as the cult-names noted above seem to indicate—go back to a genuine primitive belief? The earliest literary evidence at first seems adverse to such a claim; for the three divinities in question have already their distinctive names: I refer to *Il.* 15. 187 ff., where Zeus, Poseidon, and Hades,

the three sons of Cronus and Rhea, divide the world between them. But on closer inspection it appears that the names of Poseidon and Hades are simply by-forms of Ζεύς. This *saute aux yeux* as soon as we write the names, with their dialect varieties, side by side:

Ζεύς (Δεύς, Δίς, Δάν, acc. Δᾶν, etc.)	= the 'bright' sky-god.
ποσειδάων (-Δης, -Δᾶς, -Δάν, -Δέων, -Δῶν, etc.)	= Zeus in the water (πότος).
αἰ-Δης (-Δας, -Δωνεύς)	= Zeus of the earth (αἶα).

It was H. L. Ahrens who first pointed out (*Philologus* xxiii. 1 ff., 193 ff.) that Ποσειδῶν means the Water-Zeus. But his view did not find general acceptance, partly because his explanation of the length of the second syllable (Ποιδᾶν for Ποιδι-δᾶν) was unsatisfactory, and partly because 'drink' seemed an unlikely word to be used of a sea-god. But the first objection vanishes, if with Sonne (*Zeitschr. f. vgl. Spr.* x. 183) we regard the ποσει of Ποσειδῶν as a locative case. Only we must derive the word from πότος, not πόσις. As οἶκος has the locatives οἶκει, οἶκοι, so from πότος, 'drink', might be made the locatives πότει, πότοι. The former of these appears in Ποιδᾶν, Ποσειδᾶν, etc.; the latter in such forms as Ποσιδᾶν (σ for τ is due to the analogy of Ποσει- for Ποιδε-). Thus the name denotes literally 'Zeus in the drink'. The second objection can be disposed of by the not improbable supposition that Poseidon was a god of rivers (ποταμοί) and drinking-water in general (πότος) before he became a sea-god: Mr. Marindin, for example, writes (*Class. Dict.* p. 751)—'Poseidon seems to have been worshipped originally by the oldest branches of the Ionic race in especial. It is possible that when they were an inland people mainly, he was the god of running streams and wells, and that as they occupied more and more sea-coast towns his worship took particularly the form, which eventually everywhere prevailed, appropriate to the god of the sea. In Thessaly, a well-watered country, without many sea-ports, his character was rather that of a god of rivers. Etc.' It is, then, permissible to suppose that, when rain fell, the primitive Greeks believed Zeus to be present in the rain; that, when the rain collected into streams and rivers, they still held Zeus to be in the drinking-water; and that, when the rivers ran into the sea, they looked upon the sea itself as permeated with Zeus. The conception of Zeus in the rain is attested not only by the titles Ζεύς Ὀμβριος,

Ζεύς Ὑέτιος, and the phrase Ζεὺς ῥεῖ, but by the remarkable term ζήμιον or ζήμιον ὕδωρ used for 'rain-water' in the magical papyri (Wessely *Gr. Zauberpap.* pap. Paris. 225 εἰν μὲν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις θεοῖς κλήζῃ ζήμιον sc. βάλε ὕδωρ, Wessely *neue Gr. Zauberpap.* 630 ζήμιον ὕδατος).¹ The transition from sky-god to river-god is best illustrated by the Homeric Διπετέος ποταμοῖο, an expression rightly interpreted by schol. A οἱ γὰρ ὀμβροὶ ἀπὸ Διὸς and Eustath. 1505, 58 δηλον γὰρ ὡς τὸ ἐκπίπτον ὕδωρ ἐκ Διὸς ὃ ἐστιν αἶρος ποιεῖ Διπετὴ ποταμόν (cp. *evnd.* 1053, 8); for the Zeus Πότεις or Ποτήιος of Pamphylia and Phrygia (Collignon in *Bull. corr. hell.* iii. 335, Overbeck *Kunstmyth.* i. 223, Head *hist. num.* 562) seems to have been Dionysiac. Lastly, the fusion of sky-god with sea-god appears in the titles already quoted—Ζεὺς ἐνάλιος, Ζεὺς Θαλάσσιος—and in sundry cult-practices: at Olympia Zeus and Poseidon both bore the title Λαοίτας and were worshipped at a common altar (Paus. 5. 24. 1, schol. Pind. *Ol.* 5. 8); the connecting link is perhaps supplied by the Carian Ζηνο-Ποσειδῶν (Macho *ap. Athen.* 337 c, *C.I.G.* 2700 add., Roscher *Lex. s.v.* 'Oso-goa'), whose temple stood by a river (Theophrast. *ap. Athen.* 42 A).

Confirmation² of Ποσειδῶν = Zeus in the water (πότος) may be found in the title Ἐννοσιδᾶς given to that divinity by Pindar (*Pyth.* 4. 33, 173). This should, I think, be divided ἐν-νοσι-Δας, i.e. Zeus in the water (voris, ἔννοτος, ἐννότιος). According to Kühner-Blass i. 150, 'Das ursprüngliche τ . . . erweichten die Lesbier, die Arkadier und

¹ Dr. Frazer reminds me of the explicit statement in Verg. *georg.* 2. 325 ff. tum pater omnipotens fecundis imbris Aether | coniugis in gremium lactae descendit, et omnis | magnus alit, magno commixtus corpore, fetus. Jupiter Pluvialis (*C.I.L.* ix. 324) and Jupiter imbricator (Apol. *de mundo* 37) are strictly parallel to Ζεύς Ὀμβριος and Ζεύς Ὑέτιος.

² It is also worthy of mention that among the Aetolians, Lesbians, and Perrhaebians the month Ποσειδῶν was called Δίος (Bisschoff *de fastis Graecorum antiquioribus*).

Kyprier, die alten und neuen Ionier und die Attiker, insbesondere vor ι , in σ .' The short $\tilde{\iota}$ is perhaps due to later confusion with the patronymic $\tilde{\iota}\delta\eta\varsigma$: cp. the Ionic Ποσειδῆς (Herodian π. μον. λεξ. 10, 35 with Ahrens *Philol.* xxiii. 7). Further, since rivers spring from the soil and sometimes disappear into the soil, water as such acquired a chthonian character: hence ποσειδῶν was the god of earthquakes (Pr.ller-Robert⁴ p. 583 ff.), and ἐννοσίγαιος¹ may be fairly explained as *the earth-god in the water*. These compounds of ἐννοσί- are commonly held to contain a verbal element: but that is not so likely, because a verbal element would rather have followed than preceded the substantive, e.g. γαυρόχοος. The form of the compound here resembles that of ἐμπυριβίτης. Note that Pollux 1. 238, after enumerating ὄμβροι, ποταμοί, κρήναι, κ.τ.λ., goes on to mention γῆ...νότιος, ἐννότιος, a highly suggestive combination.

That 'Αἰδῆς similarly denoted the Earth-Zeus has not, I think, been hitherto maintained, though I suspect that this explanation had occurred to Ahrens; for at the close of his second article on the name Ποσειδῶν he writes (*Philologus* xxiii. 211)—'Diese deutung wird noch eine sehr kräftige bestätigung erhalten, wenn es mir gelingen sollte den namen des dritten Zeus 'Αἰδῆς in ganz analoger weise zu deuten.' The task that Ahrens left unaccomplished G. F. Unger took up and, to my thinking, spoiled. For in *Philologus* xxiv. 385 ff. he argued that 'Αἰδῆς is the patronymic form of αἶα, the second element in the word being a mere suffix. The derivation has not found favour with philologists mainly on two grounds: (a) there is no proof that αἶα was ever trisyllabic; Unger's suggestion *loc. cit.* p. 387, n. 2 that it stands to αἶω as *terra* to *torreo* being certainly wrong: (b) Hoffmann iii. 318 f. has shown that the genuine Ionic, and therefore Pelasgian, form of the name was trisyllabic and had a long initial α (''Αἰδῆς mit langen α war die echt-ionische Form'); this is a fact to be reckoned with. Both objections can be overcome, if we put the case thus: *αἰ-ῖ-Δῆς, *Zeus of the earth* (αἶα), normally passes into αἰ-ῖ-Δῆς, a trisyllabic form with initial α lengthened to compensate for the loss of ι . That the connective vowel is ι , rather than α or \omicron , may be due to the analogy of Κρονίδης, etc.²

¹ Ἐννοσίχθων is perhaps a later form due, like ἐννοσίφυλλος, to a misconception.

² Such forms as θαλασσι-ῖ-γονος, μυστ-ῖ-πολες, are late and 'missbräuchlich' (Kühner-Blass ii. 328).

My reason for thinking that the termination of 'Αἰδῆς is not the suffix $\tilde{\iota}\delta\eta\varsigma$ but the substantive $\tilde{\iota}\delta\eta\varsigma$ is as follows: we thus obtain for the first time a satisfactory account of the form 'Αἰδωνεύς, in which $\tilde{\iota}\delta\omega\nu$ gives the name of the god (cp. Δάν, ποτιΔάν), while $\tilde{\iota}\delta\eta\varsigma$ follows the analogy of Ζεύς. But it would be beside my purpose and beyond my power to trace in detail the Protean changes undergone by the name Ζεύς in the many dialects of Greece. Suffice it to say that known varieties of the name allow of the equations proposed above; and that there is no phonetic difficulty in taking 'Αἰδῆς to denote an Earth-Zeus, precisely as Ποσειδῶν denoted a Water-Zeus. But, if Hades is none other than Ζεύς Χθόνιος or καταχθόνιος (reff. in Rhode *Psyche*² i. 205 ff.), we have yet to ask how the 'bright' sky-god came to be regarded as dwelling in the dark earth. Here, from the nature of the case, our answer must be more or less speculative. It may be granted that, if the sun was held to be in any sense the especial manifestation of the 'bright' god, his nightly setting might give rise to the belief that his home was under the earth; cp. e.g. *Od.* 10. 191 ἥελιος φασειμβροτος εἰς ὑπὸ γαίαν, *h. Herm.* 68 ἥελιος μὲν ἔδυνε κατὰ χθονὸς Ὠκεανόνδε. I incline to think that this is the right explanation; for the sun is described, not only as Διὸς ὀφθαλμός (Hes. *O.D.* 267) or Ζηρός ὄρνις (Aesch. *suppl.* 213), but actually as Ζεύς (*Etym. mag.* 409, 9 s.v. Ζεύς... καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἵκετ' αἰθέρα καὶ Διὸς ἀνγὰς = *Il.* 13. 837), and a very early inscription from Amorgos (Röhl² 55 no. 28, Roberts i. 191 no. 160 f.) mentions Ζεύς Ἥλιος. The gates through which he passed at sunset, the Ἡελίοιο πύλαι of *Od.* 24. 12, are probably to be identified with the πύλαι 'Αἰδαο of *Il.* 5. 646 *alib.* Pindar's epithet for Hades, χρυσήνιος (*ap.* Paus. 9. 23. 4), if not the Homeric κλυτόπωλος (*Il.* 5. 654 *alib.*), may be explained as allusions to the sun's chariot;³ and it is noteworthy that on vase-paintings of Hades' palace in the Underworld the walls are often decorated with wheels (Preller-Robert⁴ p. 805 n. 1). But, whatever answer we return to the question—How came Zeus to be regarded as an Earth-Zeus?—, the fact itself can hardly be disputed.

For yet another suggestion I am indebted to Ahrens (*Philologus* xxiii. 207), viz. that in Δα-μάτηρ, Δη-μήτηρ, we have a feminine form of the same stem. This enables us to understand why Demeter should have been

³ Proclus *h. in Sol.* 1 actually addresses the sun as χρυσήνιε Τίταν.

paired sometimes with Zeus—e.g. Ζεύς Ὀμολόιος and Δημήτηρ Ὀμολοία at Thebes (Suid. s.v. Ὀμολόιος Ζεύς)—, sometimes with Poseidon—e.g. at Onceum (Paus. 8. 25. 5 ff.), at Thelpusa and Phigalia (Paus. 8. 42. 1), at Troezen (Paus. 2. 32. 8), at Eleusis (Paus. 1. 38. 6), in Myconus (Ditt.² 615)—, sometimes with Hades—e.g. near the Acheron in Elis (Demetrius of Scepsis ap. Strab. 344) and not far from Pylos (Strab. 344).

Maximilian Mayer has gone far towards proving that the name Ζεύς sometimes developed a prothetic α —. He plausibly compares the forms Ἀζεύς, Ἀζάν, with Ζεύς, Ζάν (*Giganten und Titanen* pp. 84, 154). Azeus, the youngest son of Clymenus, was a local hero at Orchomenus in Boeotia, where his eldest brother Erginus was reputed to be the father of Trophonius (Paus. 9. 37). Now Τροφώνιος was a by-name of Zeus at Lebadea (Frazier *Paus.* v. 200): Κλύμενος was killed by Perieres at Onchestus in the precinct of Poseidon (Apollodor. 2. 4. 11): and Κλύμενος was also a well-known title of Hades, e.g. at Hermione, where the temple of Demeter was founded by Clymenus and Chthonia (Paus. 2. 35. 4: see Roscher *Lex.* ii. 1228, 43 ff.). If Azeus was in reality the Orchomenian Zeus, this association with Zeus, Poseidon, Hades, and Demeter becomes intelligible.¹ Azan, the eponymous head of the Azanes (Hdt. 6. 127, *alib.*), was similarly an Arcadian form of Zeus (schol. Stat. *Theb.* 4. 292 unde vulgo in sacris Deae magnae dicitur Azan, on which see Mayer *op. cit.* p. 154, n. 225). Other cognates are the Attic deme Ἀζηγιεύς (Töpffer *Att. Genealogie* p. 102 f.) and Ἀζησία, a title borne by Demeter (Soph. *frag.* 809 Dind., Hesych. s.v.) and by Kore at Troezen² (Suid. s.v., *alib.*), where the saying ἡ Ἀμαία τὴν Ἀζησιάν μετῆλθεν may have meant: 'The Mother (ἡ-Maia) sought the Zeus-maiden (ἡ-Ζησία).' In N. Greece the prothetic α was apparently prefixed to forms of Ζεύς beginning with a Δ . For Hesychius' gloss ἀδῆ οὐρανός. Μακεδόνες can hardly be dissociated from Ζεύς as the sky-god. This, if I am not mistaken, points the way to the meaning of the name Ἀδων, Ἀδωνis. Dümmler, after a careful discussion of the Adonis-cult, comes to the conclusion that the common derivation of Ἀδωνis from the Hebrew *Adon*, 'Lord,' is wrong, and

that we must assume a Greek rather than a Semitic origin for the name (Pauly-Wissowa i. 393, 39 ff.). What that origin was, he does not attempt to determine; but in view of ἀδῆ οὐρανός it is not hard to conjecture. If Adonis was related to Zeus = Poseidon = Hades, we obtain an explanation for the three-fold character of the Adonia, at which the god was represented (1) as ascending to the upper air, (2) as committed to the waves of the sea, (3) as descending to the world below (details and ref. in *G.B.*² ii. 115 ff.). Possibly Philostephanus was not far wrong, when he described Adonis as the son of Zeus and Zeus alone (Prob. in *Verg. ecl.* 10. 18).

Mayer's further conjecture (*Giganten und Titanen* p. 81) that Τῖράν is a reduplicated form of * Τάν (cp. Σίανφος, κίκυς, πίφαύσκω), another variety of Ζεύς (Cretan Ταρός, Τάρ, Τάρα, etc.—see Herwerden *Lex. suppl.* s.v. Ζεύς, Boisacq *Les dialectes Dorien* p. 152 f.), is in itself not impossible and is supported by a wealth of ingenious argumentation. If true, it throws—as we shall see—some light on the mythology of various Titans.

But the group of related deities is not, even so, exhausted. Corresponding to the male series sky-god, water-god, earth-god, was a whole female series sky-goddess, water-goddess, earth-goddess, who derived their names more immediately from the Indo-European root *div*, 'bright,' a root ultimately common to both series:

Δία = sky-goddess.

ἄφρο-Δίτη = water-goddess.

Διώνη = earth-goddess.

Between the divinities denoted by these names there was a certain potential equivalence or actual interchange, which tends to confirm my theory that they are at bottom only diverse manifestations of a single conception—the 'bright' wife of the 'bright' sky-god Zeus. Thus Dia, when identified with Hebe as at Phlius and Sicyon (Strab. 382) or when united with Zeus as the parent of Peirithous (*Il.* 14. 317 f., Pherecyd. ap. schol. Ap. Rhod. 3. 62. schol. *Od.* 11. 631 ὁ δὲ Δίας καὶ Διός), was presumably conceived as a sky-goddess. But, when identified with Eurytia or Eidothea as the second wife of Phineus (J. De Witte in *Arch. Zeit.* xxxix. 164, n. 1), she was a water-goddess (Roscher *Lex.* i. 1218). And, when the Samothracian Caelus and Terra (Pauly-Wissowa iii. 1277, 38 ff.) are replaced by Caelus and Dia (Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 23) or when *dia* is cited as meaning γῆ (*Etym. mag.* 60, 8 οἱ γὰρ Δωριεῖς τὴν γῆν δᾶν λέγουσι καὶ δῖαν), we are bound to regard Dia as an

¹ *Il.* 2. 513 speaks of Ἀκτορος Ἀζειδαο. Does Ἀκτορ the son of Ζεύς afford any clue to the difficult epithet Δι-ἄκτορος?

² Possibly the same root recurs in the name of the town itself, Τροι-ζήν, Τροι-ζήνη.

earth-goddess: cp. the Dea Dia of the Romans. Again, Aphrodite, though commonly a water-goddess (Εὔπλοια, Αἰμενία, Πονρία, etc.) was also a sky-goddess (Οὐρανία) and an earth-goddess (Ἐπιτυμβίδα, Τυμβήρχος): she thus made a fitting consort for Adonis, with whom her connexion was constant and apparently original (Dümmler in Pauly-Wissowa i. 393, 50 ff.). Finally Dione, who at Dodona was an earth-goddess (see below), was sometimes identified with her daughter the Cyprian Aphrodite (Roscher *Lex.* i. 1028, 46 ff.) or described as the child of Oceanus and Tethys (Hes. *theog.* 353), i.e. as a water-goddess, while others equated her with Hera presumably as a sky-goddess (schol. *Od.* 3. 91 ὥς καὶ ἡ "Ἡρα Διώνη παρὰ Δωδωναίοις, ὥς Ἀπολλώδωρος: where Διώνη is Buttmann's ej. for διώνη M. δαίονη H.Q.). These variations show how readily sky-goddess, sea-goddess, and earth-goddess might pass from one province into another. Surely the riddle τί ταῦτόν ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ ἐν θαλάττῃ; (Athen. 453 A) admitted of a serious theological answer.

Thus far, then, we have seen that various Greek deities are etymologically connected with Zeus. I propose to show next that in the case of every such deity, traces of the oak-cult can be detected.

Ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα. The Pelasgian Zeus at Dodona uttered his oracles by means of a sacred oak (*Il.* 16. 233 ff., *Od.* 14. 327 f., 19. 296 f.) growing in a sacred forest of oak (Aesch. *P.v.* 832, Serv. *georg.* 1. 149 and *Aen.* 3. 466, schol. Lucan. *Phars.* 3. 179). This, the most famous oak-cult of antiquity, has already a literature of its own (bibliography in P. Wagler *die Eiche* ii. 5, Gruppe *Gr. Myth.* 353, etc.) and I do not mean to discuss it in detail. At the same time it will be well to insist on certain aspects of the cult which have not hitherto received the attention that they deserve. I shall have something to say on the subject (1) of Zeus himself, (2) of Dione his consort, (3, 4) of their attendant priests and priestesses.

(1) At Dodona the conception of Zeus as a sky-god is barely traceable. For if Ζεὺς Νάϊος be interpreted as 'Zeus of the streaming water' (schol. *Il.* 16. 233 ὁ δὲ Δωδωναῖος καὶ νάϊος: ὑδρηλὰ γὰρ τὰ ἐκεῖ χωρία), the reference is not to the drenching thunderstorms of the district, but to the numerous streams that furrow the side of

Mt. Tomarus (Plin. *n.h.* 4. praef. 2 Tomarus mons centum fontibus circa radices Theopompo celebratus) or more probably to the ἵδωρ ἀναπανόμενον (Plin. *n.h.* 2. 228), as is evident when the epithet is compared with its supposed cognates Νάϊα (a spring in Laconia, Paus. 3. 25. 4), Νάϊας, νάω, νάμμα, etc.: these all refer to running or standing water, not to a down-pour from above. But it is not quite certain that Νάϊος refers to water at all. In ancient times rival derivations were current: (a) from νᾱῖς, 'the god of ships' (Bekk. *anecd.* 283, 22); (b) from νᾱός, 'the god of the temple' (Bekk. *anecd.* 283, 13); (c) from νᾱίω, 'the god who dwells' in the oak (cp. φηγωναίε the reading of Zenodotus in *Il.* 16. 233 with Hes. *frag.* 80, 7 Flach νᾱίον δ' ἐν πυθμένι φηγοῦ). Of modern derivations the most persuasive is that of Schrader (*Reallex.* s.v. 'Tempel,' p. 861) who, holding that the words νᾱῖς and νᾱός are descended from a common parent denoting 'tree,' interprets Ζεὺς Νάϊος as 'der im Baumstamme gefasste.' But, however that may be, the title Νάϊος furnishes no direct proof of the celestial character of Zeus. It is indeed strange that such proof is not forthcoming at Dodona, perhaps the stormiest spot in Europe (with *Il.* 16. 234 Δωδώνης...δυσχειμέρου cp. A. Mommsen *Delphika* p. 5 'Im Juni 1868 hat es bei Janina an 23 Tagen gedonnert und geblitzt' quoted by Wagler *die Eiche* ii. 2). Possibly a reminiscence of the bright sky-god is to be found in the Hesychian gloss Δωδωνεύς: Ζεὺς. ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ Δῖος, and of the rain-storms in the Dodonaean nymphs whom Pherecydes identified with the Ὑάδες (schol. *Il.* 18. 486). These latter were regarded by Pherecydes as the nurses of Dionysus (*ib.* τὰς Ὑάδας Δωδωνίδας νύμφας φησὶν εἶναι καὶ Διονύσου τροφούς, ἃς παρακαθεῖσθαι τὸν Διόνυσον Ἴνοι διὰ τὸν Ἡρακλῆα), but by others as the nurses of Zeus himself (Hyg. 182 Iovis nutrices quae nymphae Dodonides dicuntur)—a point to which I must return. It should be added that certain bronze fragments found at Dodona probably belonged to a statue of Zeus hurling the thunderbolt (Carapanos *Dodone et ses ruines* i. 104, ii. pl. lx, 11), that a bronze statuette of the god in that attitude was discovered whole (*ib.* i. 32, ii. pl. xii. 4), and that the thunderbolt occurs as a decorative relief on pieces of bronze armour from the same site (*ib.* i. 101, 103, ii. pll. lv. 3, lix, 1, 2). The well-known Vienna bronze, which shows Zeus with a crown of oak-leaves and

of acorns and a winged thunderbolt (Baumeister *Denkm.* iii. 2132 fig. 2389 cp. the cameo in Overbeck *Gemmentaf.* iii. 2), perhaps points in the same direction. Still, it must be admitted that the conception of Zeus as a sky-god, if present at all, was very much in the background at Dodona.

His connexion with water was more *en évidence*. An oracular spring burst from the very roots of the famous oak (Serv. *Aen.* 3. 466). This was probably the ἀναπανόμενον ἱδωρ, an intermittent spring, which ceased to flow at midday (Plin. *n.h.* 2. 228, cp. *Etym. mag.* 98, 22). A river in the same locality was called Δῶδων (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Δωδώνη, Eustath. 335, 45). The oracle at Dodona enjoined sacrifice to Acheloius in all its responses (schol. *Il.* 21. 194 καὶ τὸ ἐν Δωδώνῃ δὲ μαντεῖον ἅπασιν τοῖς χρησμοῖς κελεύει θύειν Ἀχελῷω, schol. *Il.* 24. 615, Ephor. frag. 27 Müller *ap.* Macrob. 5. 18). Mythology too connected the Dodonaean Zeus with ships, both stern and prow: on the one hand, Πέριρος γὰρ ὁ Ἰκάστου¹ τοῦ Αἰόλου ναυαγῆσας διεσώθη ἐπὶ τῆς πρύμνης καὶ ἰδρύσατο ἐν Δωδώνῃ Διὸς Ναίου ἱερόν (Bekk *anecd.* 283. 22); on the other, Argos Ἀθηνᾶς ὑποθεμένης πεντηκόντορον ναῦν κατεσκεύασε τὴν προσαγορευθεῖσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ κατασκευάσαντος Ἀργῶ, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πύραν ἐνέηρυσεν Ἀθηνᾶ φωνῆν φηγοῦ τῆς Δωδωνίδος ξύλον (Apollodor. 1. 9. 16). Probably special virtues were ascribed to ship timber, δόρυ νήρον, of Dodonaean oak: cp. Plin. *n.h.* 13. 119 Alexander Cornelius arborem leonem (so MD: eonem *rv*) appellavit ex qua facta esset Argo, similem robori viscum ferenti, quae neque aqua neque igni possit corrumpi, sicuti nec viscum, nulli alii cognitam, quod equidem sciam. Again, the nymph Δωδώνη was an Oceanid (Eustath. 335, 46. Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Δωδώνη, *alib.*), as was Dione according to some (Hes. *theog.* 353, cp. Apollodor. 1. 2. 7). And there was the legend that the oracle had been founded or consulted by Deucalion and Pyrrha after the flood (Plut. *v. Pyrrh.* 1, *Etym. mag.* 293, 5 ff.). All this is suggestive of a Water-Zeus or Poseidon: cp. the beautiful bronze statuette of Zeus in the attitude of Poseidon found at Dodona and now in the British Museum (*Cat. Bronzes* 274, pl. vi. 2) and a similar statue from the same place, now at Constantinople *Bull. de corr. hell.* ix. 42, pl. xiv.

But, after all, the really prominent feature of the Zeus-cult at Dodona was its oracle. And the giving of oracles was a chthonian prerogative. An oracular Zeus (Farnell

Cults i. 39 f.) may indeed always be taken to imply a chthonian Zeus (Rhode *Psyche*,² i. 207). Hence Creuzer was substantially correct when he wrote (*Symbolik*³ iii. 85): 'ganz auffallend zeigt sich in diesem Dodona'schen Dienste ein gewisser tellurischer Charakter. Dieser Juppiter war auch mit Aidoneus oder mit dem König der Unterwelt ein und derselbe.' This 'telluric character' comes out with equal clearness in the consort of Zeus at Dodona.

(2) Pausanias 10. 12. 10. records the old chant of the Dodonaean priestesses—*Zeὺς ἦν, Zeὺς ἔσσι, Zeὺς ἔσσεται ὁ μέγας Zeῦ. Γὰ καρπὸς ἀνίει, διὸ κληῖσσε μᾶτέρα Γαῖαν.* It would seem, then, that at Dodona there was the same primeval association between Sky-father and Earth-mother, which meets us elsewhere in a hundred different forms. The name Δωδώνη itself bears witness to the cult of the earth-goddess. A comparison of

Blandona	Ἀμυνδών
Δωδώνη	Ἀνθηδών
Δωδώνη	Ἀσπληδών
Κελαδώνη	Βωδών
	Καλυδών
	Φαραδών
	Χαλκηδών

all names of places in N. Greece, seems to indicate that -δών was a suffix (1 cp. Celtic -dūnum, Old Irish *dún*, 'town') and that the import of the name depended on its first element.² On this showing Δωδώνη means 'the town of Δώ.' Now the Aeolic name for Demeter was Δω-μάτηρ, and Hoffmann ii. 374 f. argues that the N. Achaeans in general originally worshipped the goddess under that title. Bechtel (*Nachr. d. Gött. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* 1890 p. 29) had already compared the clipped form Δωῖς (MSS. Δώς) in *h. Cer.* 122; and Meister i. 75 had brought into the same connexion the place-names Δωδώνη, Δώτιον. Thus the name Δωδώνη informs us that from time immemorial that had been a local cult of the earth-goddess, the goddess whom the dramatists called Δᾱ (Herwerden *lex. suppl.* *s.v.* δᾱ), better known as Δη-μήτηρ, a feminine form from the same root as Ζεύς.

But if the consort of Zeus at Dodona was Demeter, what becomes of Dione who is regularly paired with him in literature and art (evidence in Roscher *lex.* i. 1028, 61 ff., Gruppe *Gr. Myth.* 354, n. 1, etc.)? Strabo

² Kretschmer *Einleitung* p. 256 f. holds that the suffix of these place-names is rather -ών, -ονα. In that case the first element of Δωδώνη would be a reduplicated Δώ, cp. Δωδῶ (Simmias Rhod. *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Δωδώνη).

¹ The names are usually corrected to Περίηρος and Ἰοκάστου.

329 states that the worship of Dione was introduced at a later date than that of Zeus. His statement is often discredited (e.g. by Gruppe *Gr. Myth.* 354, n. 1); but it may well be true. Δῶ, the old earth-goddess, was in time supplanted by Διώνη, both of them being feminine congeners of Ζεύς (Curtius *Grundzüge* 236, Meister *Sitzungsab. d. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* 1894 p. 200 ff.). An inkling of the truth appears in *Etym. mag.* 280, 41 ff. ἀπὸ τοῦ Διὸς Διώνη... ἡ αὐτὴ γὰρ ἐστὶ τῇ γῇ.

Oaks were associated with Demeter and perhaps with Dione also. The cave of the Phigaleian Demeter was surrounded by a grove of oaks (Paus. 8. 42. 12). On the road from Tegea to Argos the temple of Demeter ἐν Κορυθείσιν stood in another oak-grove (Paus. 8. 54. 5). The tree cut down in Demeter's grove by the sacrilegious Erysichthon was, according to Ovid, an 'ingens annoso robore quercus' (*met.* 8. 743), a 'Deoia quercus' (*ib.* 758): cp. Callim. *h. Cer.* 60 ἐνὶ δρυσί. Finally, Virgil connects the oak with Ceres: *georg.* 1. 347 ff. neque ante | falcem maturis quisquam supponat aristas, | quam Cereri torta redimitus tempora quercu | det motus inconpositos et carmina dicat. The evidence with regard to Dione is as follows. Nicander *ther.* 461 f. mentions Ζωναῖά τ' ὄρη χιώνεσσι φάληρα | καὶ δρύες Οἰαγρίδαο τό τε Ζηρύνθιον ἄντρον. The schol. *ad loc.* cites also Nicand. *frag.* 36 καὶ μὲν ὑπὸ Ζωναίων ὄρος δρύες ἀμφὶ τε φηγοὶ | ῥυζόθι δαρήθησαν ἀνέστησάν τε χορείαν | οἷά τε παρθενικαί. It appears that in Thrace there was a town called Δρύς (Steph. Byz. *s.v.*), where Orpheus had made the oaks to dance, and that in its immediate neighbourhood was another town called Ζώνη (Scylax *peripl.* 67 Σαμοθράκη νῆσος καὶ λιμὴν. κατὰ ταύτην ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ ἐμπόρια Δρύς, Ζώνη). Have we not in Δρύς—Ζώνη the Thracian counterpart of the Dodonaean δρύς—Διώνη?

It may be surmised that the famous gong at Dodona was connected with the goddess rather than with the god. For the nearest parallel to it on Greek soil was the gong sounded by the hierophant at Athens (i.e. at Eleusis) when Kore cried aloud (Apolodor. *ap. schol. vet. Theoc.* 2. 36): besides, Pindar speaks of Demeter herself as χαλκοκρότον... Δαμάτερος (*Isth.* 7. 3 f.); and her title 'Αχαία, 'the noisy,' is susceptible of the same explanation (*J.H.S.* xxii. 15).

(3) This brings us to a consideration of the priests at Dodona, whom Callimachus calls γηλεχέες θεράποντες ἀσιγήτοιο λέβητος

(*h. Del.* 286). If Dione was an earth-goddess, we can understand why they were γηλεχέες. They lay on the ground to be in close contact with Mother Earth. The Homeric χαμαιεῖναι (*Il.* 16. 235) possibly echoes Χαμένη, a title borne by Demeter in Elis (Paus. 6. 20. 9, 6. 21. 1) and denoting the earth-goddess (Kretschmer *Einkl.* 83). But they were ἀνιπτόποδες as well as χαμαιεῖναι. Does this taboo imply the same contact? Unlike other men they did not wash from their feet the dust and mud that to them were holy ground. A third of the Dodonaean rules may perhaps be recovered from a parody of them by the comedian Eubulus (*ap. Athen.* 113 κ, cp. Eustath. 1058, 12), who spoke of the Cynics as ἀνιπτόποδες, χαμαιεννάδες, ἀερίοικοι. If so, the third rule may refer to Zeus as a sky-god: his priests remained *sub divo*. The epithets taken together would thus give the twofold aspect of the priesthood, in its relation on the one hand to Dione and on the other to Zeus.

The priests were called Ἴλλοί and traced their descent from an eponymous ancestor Ἴλλός. He was a woodcutter, to whom the dove had first shown the oracular seat (*schol. Il.* 16. 234 Πάριδος Ἴλλοὶ χωρὶς τοῦ σ ἀπὸ Ἴλλοῦ τοῦ δρυτόμου, ὃ φάσι τὴν περιστερὰν πρώτην καταδείξει τὸ μαντεῖον, cp. Serv. *Aen.* 3. 466 of the dove at Dodona 'praecepitque ei qui tum eam succidebat, ut ab sacra quercu ferrum sacrilegum submoveret: ibi oraculum Iovis constitutum est,' etc.). Almost the only other substantial piece of information that we have with regard to the Ἴλλοί is that they were called τόμονοι, a name popularly connected with Mt. Τόμαρος or Τμάρος (Strab. 328). But it can hardly be a mere coincidence that the τόμονοι of a sacred oak-grove should claim descent from a δρυτόμος. I would submit that τόμονοι means 'cutters,' i.e. woodcutters, being a word derived from the root of τέμνω, cp. τόμος τομός τομεύς etc., with a termination like that of ἄροννα or στανρός. Mt. Τόμαρος or Τμάρος might well be the mountain where timber was 'felled' (cp. Orph. *Arg.* 1153 ff. ἐκ δ' ἄρα κοίλης | νηὸς ἐριβρομέονσα Τομαριὰς ἔκλαγε φηγὸς | ἦν ποθ' ὑπ' Ἀργῶσι τομαῖς ἡρμόσσαστο Παλλάς). It seems, then, that those who felled timber in the sacred wood of Dodona were a clan tracing their pedigree back to a common ancestor. A parallel to this state of affairs can be produced from another Pelasgian town, namely Athens. Hesychius has fortunately saved the gloss Αἰγεροτόμου ἰθαγενεῖς τινες Ἀθήνησιν. There was, as he

tells us, at Athens a family of 'poplar-cutters,' which prided itself on the purity of its blood. Probably in the far past they and they alone had been privileged to cut poplars: according to Callim. *h. Cer.* 24 ff. the wrath of Demeter fell upon Erysichthon because, though warned by her priestess, he cut down a poplar in her grove at Dotion. At Olympia too the wood of the white poplar, which alone was used for the sacrifices, was supplied by a servant of Zeus called the ξυλεύς (Paus. 5. 13. 2-3, 5. 15. 10). Again, at Phlius in the grove of Hebe, who was here identified with Dia (Strab. 382), a yearly festival was held called the κισσοτόμοι (Paus. 2. 13. 4). It is clear, therefore, that the felling of timber in a sacred grove might be regarded as a solemn religious function; and it may be plausibly maintained that the τόμουροι of Dodona were the clan privileged to cut the sacred oaks.¹

Can we go further and form a conjecture as to the reasons for which they felled the trees? Doubtless it may have been for purely secular purposes, house-building or what not? But the sanctity of the oaks and the priestly character of the τόμουροι tempt us to go further afield. Now the legend related by the scholiast on *Il.* 16. 234 spoke of Hellus the δρυτόμος as guided by a dove to the oracular seat. And this suggests comparison with the Little Daedala in Boeotia. At that festival the people of Plataea followed a raven till it settled on an oak, which they then cut down and treated as a bride of Zeus (reff. in *G.B.*² i. 225 f.). The common features are the wood-cutting and the bird alighting on the oak sacred to Zeus. A further point of resemblance is the prominence accorded to the river-god in both localities. Of the Achelōus as worshipped at Dodona I have already spoken. At Plataea during the Little Daedala the oak-bride 'seems . . . to have been drawn to the banks of the river Asopus and back to the town, attended by a piping and dancing crowd'; and once in sixty years, at the Great Daedala, the fourteen oak-brides kept from the lesser celebrations 'were dragged on wains in procession to the river Asopus, and then to the top of Mount Cithaeron,' where they were burnt (*G.B.*² loc. cit.). If Schrader was right in understanding Νάϊος to mean 'of the tree-trunk,' the name of the local festival at Dodona, the Νάϊα (Ditt.² 700) or Νᾶα (*C.I.G.* 2908), might afford a parallel to that of the Δαίδαλα, i.e. 'carved

trunks' (Paus. 9. 3. 2), at Plataea. The bride of Zeus at Dodona seems to have been originally a *xoanon* of wood and to have been transformed into a chryselephantine statue by the Athenians; this supposition at least fits the language of Hypereides *pro Eux.* col. xxxv. 24 ff. ὅμιν γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Δωδωναῖος προσέταξεν ἐν τῇ μαντείᾳ τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς Διώνης ἐπικοσμήσαι καὶ ἡμεῖς πρόσωπόν τε ποιησάμενοι ὥς οἷόν τε κάλλιστον καὶ τὰλλα πάντα τὰ ἀκόλουθα, καὶ κόσμον πολὺν καὶ πολυτελὴ τῇ θεῷ παρασκευάσαντες καὶ θεωρίαν καὶ θυσίαν πολλῶν χρημάτων ἀποστείλαντες ἐπεκοσμήσατε τὸ εἶδος τῆς Διώνης ἀξίως καὶ ὡμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς θεῆς. Among the débris in the sacred precinct at Dodona, Carapanos found 'deux yeux en pierre calcaire ayant appartenu à une grande statue en bois' (*op. cit.* i. 23, ii. pl. lx, 6); though it would be rash to assert that these came from a statue of Dione. If Zeus at Dodona like Zeus at Plataea had a wooden bride, it is possible that the Dodonaean had some periodical holocaust analogous to the pyre on Mt. Cithaeron. A trace of this persists, I believe, in a passage of Strabo. Strab. 401 f. quotes from Ephorus an account of certain Boeotians who killed a priestess by casting her upon a pyre (πύρα) in consequence of which, whenever Boeotians consulted the oracle at Dodona, the divine response was delivered to them by the mouth of men, not of women as in the case of other tribes, and the Boeotians had to send to Dodona every year a tripod under cover of night and wrapped up in garments. Variants of this tale are given in Zenob. 2. 84 s.v. Βοιωτοῖς μαντεύσασθαι: I have discussed them in *J.H.S.* xxii. 21 f.

Some further facts are known about the Νάϊα. Part of the festival took the form of a dramatic exhibition, presumably in the local theatre. An inscription found at Tegea (Ditt.² 700) records among the performances of an unknown tragedian—[Ν]άϊα [ἐν] Δωδώνῃ Ἀχελ[ώ]ω Εὐριπίδου, Ἀχιλλεὶ Χαιρήμωνος (*sic*). Both plays were well chosen: the association between the Achelōus and Dodona was of the closest; and in *Il.* 16. 233 it is Achilles who appeals to the Dodonaean Zeus—indeed Gruppe *Gr. Myth.* 71 connects Ἀχιλλεύς with Ἀχελώϊος. Comedies may have been played as well as tragedies; for the bronze statuette of a comic actor was found in the precinct (Carapanos i. 32, ii. pl. xiii, 5). But the festival involved athletic as well as dramatic contests. Lebas *Attiques* 595 cites an inscription, which mentions among other victories—Νᾶα τὰ ἐν Δω[δώνῃ] ἄνδρας πάλην. Another inscription

¹ *cp.* Hesych. δρυμίους τοὺς κατὰ τὴν χώραν κακοποιούοντας, 'forsan ob succisionem quercuum s. arborum' (Steph. *Thes.* s.v.).

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It may be surmised that the famous gong at Dodona was connected with the goddess rather than with the god. For the nearest parallel to it on Greek soil was the gong sounded by the hierophant at Athens (i.e. at Eleusis) when Kore cried aloud (Apollodor. *ap. schol. vet. Theocr.* 2. 36): besides, Pindar speaks of Demeter herself as χαλκοκρότον... Δαμάτερος (*Isth.* 7. 3 f.); and her title 'Αχαία, 'the noisy,' is susceptible of the same explanation (*J.H.S.* xxii. 15).

(3) This brings us to a consideration of the priests at Dodona, whom Callimachus calls γηλεχέες θεράποντες ἀσιγῆτοιο λέβητος

(*h. Del.* 286). If Dione was an earth-goddess, we can understand why they were γηλεχέες. They lay on the ground to be in close contact with Mother Earth. The Homeric χαμαιεῖναι (*Il.* 16. 235) possibly echoes Χαμένη, a title borne by Demeter in Elis (Paus. 6. 20. 9, 6. 21. 1) and denoting the earth-goddess (Kretschmer *Einkl.* 83). But they were ἀνιπτόποδες as well as χαμαιεῖναι. Does this taboo imply the same contact? Unlike other men they did not wash from their feet the dust and mud that to them were holy ground. A third of the Dodonaean rules may perhaps be recovered from a parody of them by the comedian Eubulus (*ap. Athen.* 113 ε, cp. Eustath. 1058, 12), who spoke of the Cynics as ἀνιπτόποδες, χαμαιευνάδες, ἀερίοικοι. If so, the third rule may refer to Zeus as a sky-god: his priests remained *sub divo*. The epithets taken together would thus give the twofold aspect of the priesthood, in its relation on the one hand to Dione and on the other to Zeus.

The priests were called Ἕλλοί and traced their descent from an eponymous ancestor Ἕλλος. He was a woodcutter, to whom the dove had first shown the oracular seat (schol. *Il.* 16. 234 Πάνδαρος Ἕλλοι χωρὶς τοῦ σ ἀπὸ Ἕλλου τοῦ δρυτόμου, ᾧ φασὶ τὴν περιστερὰν πρώτην καταδείξει τὸ μαντεῖον, cp. Serv. *Aen.* 3. 466 of the dove at Dodona 'praecepitque ei qui tum eam succidebat, ut ab sacrata quercu ferrum sacrilegum submoveret: ibi oraculum Iovis constitutum est,' etc.). Almost the only other substantial piece of information that we have with regard to the Ἕλλοι is that they were called τόμουροι, a name popularly connected with Mt. Τόμαρος or Τμάρος (Strab. 328). But it can hardly be a mere coincidence that the τόμουροι of a sacred oak-grove should claim descent from a δρυ-τόμου. I would submit that τόμουροι means 'cutters,' i.e. woodcutters, being a word derived from the root of τέμνω, cp. τόμος τομός τομεύς etc., with a termination like that of ἀρουρα or σταυρός. Mt. Τόμαρος or Τμάρος might well be the mountain where timber was 'felled' (cp. Orph. *Arg.* 1153 ff. ἐκ δ' ἄρα κοίλης | νηὸς ἐμβρομέονσα Τομαριὰς ἔκλαγε φηγὸς | ἦν ποθ' ὑπ' Ἀργῆσι τομαῖς ἡρόσσαστο Παλλάς). It seems, then, that those who felled timber in the sacred wood of Dodona were a clan tracing their pedigree back to a common ancestor. A parallel to this state of affairs can be produced from another Pelasgian town, namely Athens. Hesychius has fortunately saved the gloss Αἰγειροτόμοι ἰθαγενεῖς τῶς Ἀθήνησιν. There was, as he

tells us, at Athens a family of 'poplar-cutters,' which prided itself on the purity of its blood. Probably in the far past they and they alone had been privileged to cut poplars: according to Callina. *h. Cer.* 24 ff. the wrath of Demeter fell upon Erysichthon because, though warned by her priestess, he cut down a poplar in her grove at Dotion. At Olympia too the wood of the white poplar, which alone was used for the sacrifices, was supplied by a servant of Zeus called the *ξύλεις* (Paus. 5. 13. 2-3, 5. 15. 10). Again, at Phlius in the grove of Hebe, who was here identified with Dia (Strab. 382), a yearly festival was held called the *κυσσότομοι* (Paus. 2. 13. 4). It is clear, therefore, that the felling of timber in a sacred grove might be regarded as a solemn religious function; and it may be plausibly maintained that the *τόμοι* of Dodona were the clan privileged to cut the sacred oaks.¹

Can we go further and form a conjecture as to the reasons for which they felled the trees? Doubtless it may have been for purely secular purposes, house-building or what not? But the sanctity of the oaks and the priestly character of the *τόμοι* tempt us to go further afield. Now the legend related by the scholiast on *Il.* 16. 234 spoke of Hellus the *δρυτόμος* as guided by a dove to the oracular seat. And this suggests comparison with the Little Daedala in Boeotia. At that festival the people of Plataea followed a raven till it settled on an oak, which they then cut down and treated as a bride of Zeus (reff. in *G.B.*² i. 225 f.). The common features are the wood-cutting and the bird alighting on the oak sacred to Zeus. A further point of resemblance is the prominence accorded to the river-god in both localities. Of the Achelōis as worshipped at Dodona I have already spoken. At Plataea during the Little Daedala the oak-bride 'seems . . . to have been drawn to the banks of the river Asopus and back to the town, attended by a piping and dancing crowd'; and once in sixty years, at the Great Daedala, the fourteen oak-brides kept from the lesser celebrations 'were dragged on wains in procession to the river Asopus, and then to the top of Mount Cithaeron,' where they were burnt (*G.B.*² *loc. cit.*). If Schrader was right in understanding *Náios* to mean 'of the tree-trunk,' the name of the local festival at Dodona, the *Náia* (Ditt.² 700) or *Nāa* (*C.I.G.* 2908), might afford a parallel to that of the *Δαίδαλα*, i.e. 'carved

trunks' (Paus. 9. 3. 2), at Plataea. The bride of Zeus at Dodona seems to have been originally a *xoanon* of wood and to have been transformed into a chryselephantine statue by the Athenians; this supposition at least fits the language of Hypereides *pro Euæ.* col. xxxv. 24 ff. *ὑμῖν γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Δωδωναῖος προσέταξεν ἐν τῇ μαντείᾳ τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς Διώνης ἐπικοσμήσαι· καὶ ὑμεῖς πρόσωπόν τε ποιησάμενοι ὡς οἷόν τε κάλλιστον καὶ τὰλλα πάντα τὰ ἀκόλουθα, καὶ κόσμον πολὺν καὶ πολυτελῆ τῇ θεῷ παρασκευάσαντες καὶ θεωρίαν καὶ θυσίαν πολλῶν χρημάτων ἀποστείλαντες ἐπεκοσμήσατε τὸ ἔδος τῆς Διώνης ἀξίως καὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς θεοῦ.* Among the débris in the sacred precinct at Dodona, Carapanos found 'deux yeux en pierre calcaire ayant appartenu à une grande statue en bois' (*op. cit.* i. 23, ii. pl. lx, 6); though it would be rash to assert that these came from a statue of Dione. If Zeus at Dodona like Zeus at Plataea had a wooden bride, it is possible that the Dodonaean had some periodical holocaust analogous to the pyre on Mt. Cithaeron. A trace of this persists, I believe, in a passage of Strabo. Strab. 401 f. quotes from Ephorus an account of certain Boeotians who killed a priestess by casting her upon a pyre (*πύρα*) in consequence of which, whenever Boeotians consulted the oracle at Dodona, the divine response was delivered to them by the mouth of men, not of women as in the case of other tribes, and the Boeotians had to send to Dodona every year a tripod under cover of night and wrapped up in garments. Variants of this tale are given in Zenob. 2. 84 s.v. *Βοιωτοῖς μαντεῖσσι*: I have discussed them in *J.H.S.* xxii. 21 f.

Some further facts are known about the *Náia*. Part of the festival took the form of a dramatic exhibition, presumably in the local theatre. An inscription found at Tegea (Ditt.² 700) records among the performances of an unknown tragedian—[N]áia [ἐν] Δωδώνῃ Ἀχελ[ώφ] Εὐριπίδου, Ἀχιλλεὶ Χαυρήμονος (*sic*). Both plays were well chosen: the association between the Achelōis and Dodona was of the closest; and in *Il.* 16. 233 it is Achilles who appeals to the Dodonaean Zeus—indeed Gruppe *Gr. Myth.* 71 connects Ἀχιλλεύς with Ἀχελώϊος. Comedies may have been played as well as tragedies; for the bronze statuette of a comic actor was found in the precinct (Carapanos i. 32, ii. pl. xiii, 5). But the festival involved athletic as well as dramatic contests. Lebas *Attiques* 595 cites an inscription, which mentions among other victories—*Νάα τὰ ἐν Δω[δώνῃ] ἄνδρας πάλην*. Another inscription

¹ *cf.* Hesych. *δρυμίου*· τοὺς κατὰ τὴν χώραν κακοποιούντας, 'forsan ob successionem quercuum s. arborum' (Steph. *Thes.* s.v.).

found at Priene (*C.I.G.* 2908) runs—ὁ δῆμος Φύλιον Θρασυβούλου νικήσαντα παῖδας παγκράτιον Νῆα τὰ ἐν Δωδώνῃ. Again, Callixenus of Rhodes in describing a procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus writes (*ap. Athen.* 203 A): ἐστεφανώθησαν δ' ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι καὶ στεφάνοις χρυσοῖς εἴκοσι· Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ πρῶτος καὶ Βερενίκη εἴκοσι τρισὶν ἐφ' ἁρμάτων χρυσῶν καὶ τεμένεσιν ἐν Δωδώνῃ. The meaning of the last sentence has been much discussed (see Schweighäuser *ad loc.*); but it should probably be rendered—'Ptolemy I and Berenice were honoured with twenty-three (golden crowns borne along) on golden chariots and with (? models of) sacred precincts at Dodona.' Whatever the full meaning of this may be, it certainly implies that Ptolemy I and Berenice had won prizes in the Dodonaean games. If στεφάνοι were awarded for victories at the Νῆα, it may

fairly be conjectured that the wreath was of oak. The conjecture is confirmed by sundry objects of art found in the *temenos*—a portion of a bronze wreath of oak (Carapanos i. 91, ii. pl. xlix, 8), a dozen detached bronze leaves of oak and laurel (*ib.* i. 91, ii. pl. xlix, 6, 12), an acorn of silver in a shell of bronze (*ib.* i. 92, ii. pl. xlix, 10). Among the vase-fragments found in the lower stratum of the precinct was one which represents a nude man carrying a (? palm) branch: this again may have reference to success in the games (*ib.* i. 112, ii. pl. lxi, 5). Less dubious and more interesting are two large bronze jugs inscribed—

Ἐπὶ ἀγωνοθέτα Μαχάτα Παρθαίου Διὸς Νάου (sic)
καὶ Διώνῃ (sic).

Ἐπὶ ἀγωνοθέτα Μαχάτα Παρθαίου Διὸς Νάου (sic)¹
καὶ Διώνῃ.



These jugs appear to have been presented to the victors, and are therefore comparable with the better-known Panathenaic amphoras. Now the latter were filled with the sacred oil (Simonides *frag.* 155 = Anth. Pal. 13. 19, Pind. *Nem.* 10. 35 with schol. *ad loc.*), which was burnt also in the perpetual lamp of the Erechtheum (Paus. 1. 26. 6, Plut. *v. Sull.* 13). Is it over-bold to conjecture that the Dodona jugs were similarly filled with sacred oil? Strongly in favour of the suggestion is the fact that they are supported

on two bronze stands shaped like lighted lamps (Carapanos i. 45, ii. pl. xxv from which my illustrations are taken). This peculiar feature can be adequately explained only on the assumption that the jugs contained oil meant to kindle or at least to symbolise a perpetual flame.

It would seem, then, that the form of the prize-jar awarded to the victor points to the

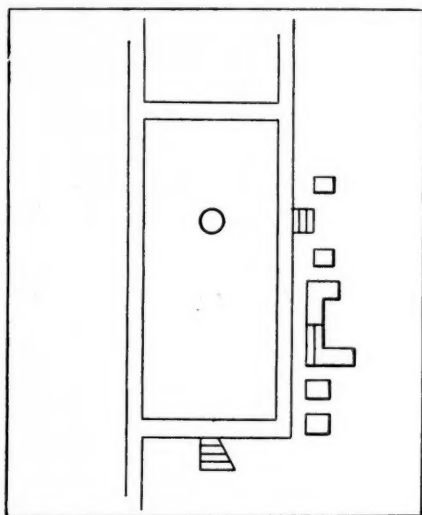
¹ The engraving has ΝΑΟΥ by mistake for ΝΑΟΙ (Carapanos i. 46).

maintenance of a sacred fire at Dodona. This is the more credible, as there is some reason to believe that the precinct had a sacred hearth. Sophocles in his *Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀκανθοπλήξ* (*frag.* 401 Dind. *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Δωδώνη) describes the Dodonaean Zeus thus :

Δωδῶνι ναίων Ζεὺς ὁ μέσσιος βροτῶν.

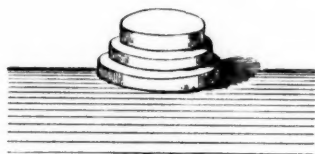
The reading *ὁ μέσσιος*, though accepted by all,

does not seem to be absolutely certain ; G. Dindorf in the preface to his edition of Steph. Byz. says : ' Ζεὺς ὁ μέσσιος βροτῶν legit Tennulius : in MS. autem ad extremam lineam ὁ·j in sequenti vero linea adustis litteris superest os.' Fortunately we are not dependent on the reading for our knowledge of the *ἑστία*, since the *ἑστία* itself is still in existence. I quote from Murray's *Handbook to Greece*⁷ 790 : 'The lower or



S.E. portion of the precinct measures 120 yds. by 114, and is connected by three flights of steps with the upper terrace.

Here were discovered the foundations of three buildings, of which the most interesting was a small oblong edifice, 28 yds. by



11. Nearly in the middle was a small circular altar with three steps. From the dedicatory inscription on a bronze wheel found here, this was evidently a sanctuary of Aphrodite.¹ The writer of the *Handbook* has followed Carapanos, who identified the edifice as 'le sanctuaire d'Aphrodite' and the altar as 'l'autel d'Aphrodite' (i. 23) on the ground of this inscription. But the inscrip-

tion on a moveable object proves little or nothing as to the nature of the building in which the object was found. Besides, a 'circular altar with three steps' in the middle of an oblong structure is clearly a *ἑστία* in a *μέγαρον*, an arrangement familiar to us from the Pelasgian palaces of Mycenae, Tiryns, etc. In all probability, therefore, this was not the sanctuary of Aphrodite at all, but the Prytaneum or primitive palace of the Dodonaean king containing his sacred

¹ The illustrations in the text are from Carapanos ii. pl. iii. 7 and pl. vii. 17.

hearth. That it immediately adjoined the grove may perhaps be inferred from the fact that 'a quantity of charred wood has been found in the vegetable soil all over the lower part of the sacred precinct' (Murray *op. cit.* 791, cp. Carapanos i. 27): the grove had been burnt by Dorimachus and his Aetolians in 219 B.C. (Polyb. 4. 67. 3).

One of the inscriptions found by Carapanos (i. 55 no. 8) records the purchase of a slave—

[ἐ]πὶ ναῖάρχῳ Μενεχάρ-
[μῳ], ἐπὶ προστάτῃ Μολ-
[λοσσ]οῦ Ἀγέλλῳ.

From this it appears that there was at Dodona an eponymous magistrate called the ναῖάρχος, who—to judge from his name¹—superintended the Νᾶια. He would thus correspond to the eponymous ἄρχων at Athens, who conducted the great Dionysia, the Thargelia, etc. (Gilbert *Constit. Antiqq. of Sparta and Athens*, p. 252). Now at Athens the eponymous ἄρχων had his official residence in the Prytaneum (Aristot. 'Αθ. πολ. 3. 5.), where was the public hearth with its perpetual fire (Poll. 1. 7.). May we not suppose that the ναῖάρχος likewise kept the fire burning on the Dodonaean hearth, being in fact the descendant of the Dodonaean kings?

Further information with regard to this royal line can be derived from the legend of the Argonauts. It will be remembered that a bough of the Dodonaean oak fixed in the prow of the good ship Argo guided the heroes of Hellas to the land of the Colchians, where in a grove sacred to Ares the golden fleece hung on another oak-tree (Apollodor. 1. 9. 6). The golden fleece was the fleece of the ram, which had carried through the air Phrixus and Helle, the two children of Athamas by Nephele. Helle, who fell from the sky into the Hellespont,² was a female counterpart of Phaethon, who fell from the sky into the Eridanus. Kuhn (*Abh. d. Berl. Ak. d. Wiss.* 1873, p. 138), Mannhardt (*Zeitschr. f. Ethnologie*, 1875, p. 243 ff.) and others have, therefore, rightly regarded Helle as a solar heroine, the golden ram as the sun.³

A partial parallel to the golden fleece may be found in a Samian myth. At Samos a sheep had discovered some gold stolen from

the temple of Hera; hence a certain Mandrobulus hung up the animal as a votive offering to the goddess (Ael. *n.a.* 12.40). But the nearest parallel, as Dr. Frazer reminds me, is furnished by the story of the golden lamb (Gruppe *Gr. Myth.* 659 n.4). The scholiast on *Il.* 2. 106 (codd. A.D.) tells it thus: 'Atreus, son of Pelops and king of the Peloponnese, once vowed that he would sacrifice to Artemis the fairest offspring of his flocks. But when a golden lamb was born to him, he repented of his vow and kept the lamb shut up in a chest. Proud of his treasure he used boastful language in the market-place. Thyestes, vexed at this, made love to Aërope and induced her to give him the treasure. Having secured it he told his brother that he had no right to boast in that way, and declared in the hearing of the multitude that the man who had the golden lamb ought to have the kingdom. When Atreus had agreed to this, Zeus sent Hermes and bade him make a compact about the kingdom, informing him that he was about to cause the sun to travel backwards. Atreus made the compact, and the sun set in the east. Hence, inasmuch as heaven had borne witness to the avarice of Thyestes, Atreus received the kingdom and drove Thyestes into banishment.' In this tale possession of the golden lamb and control of the sun's course are alike proofs of fitness to reign. It seems probable, then, that the golden lamb, like the golden ram, was the sun itself. The same conception occurs in the great Dorian cult of Apollo Καρρείος, sun-god and ram-god. Further, if the lamb symbolising the sun was possessed by the king, it is implied that the king controlled the sunshine—an implication quite in accordance with primitive thought (*G.B.*² i. 160).

Returning now to Dodona we note that 'Ελλη, the solar heroine, corresponds in name to 'Ελλός, the eponymous founder of the Dodonaean 'Ελλοί. Another slight indication that we are on the right track is the reappearance of the Prytaneum in connexion with the family of Helle. For at Halus or Alus in Thessaly lived a clan which claimed descent from Athamas, the father of Helle; and the eldest son was forbidden to enter the Prytaneum on pain of being decked with garlands and 'led out as a sacrifice (Hdt. 7. 197) to Zeus Λαφύστιος (schol. Ap. Rhod. 2. 653). We are not without justification, therefore, in attempting to ascertain the prerogatives of the Dodonaean king by the

¹ Cp. the Λαυπάδαρχος at Ceos (*C.I.G.* ii. p. 288, 31).

² Phrixus got safe to Colchis, where he sacrificed the ram to Zeus Φύγιος and gave its fleece to Aeetes, son of Helios and Perseis (Apollodor. 1. 9. 6).

³ Cp. *Myth. Vat.* 1. 24. pellem auream, in qua Juppiter in caelum ascendit.

aid of Helle and the golden fleece. But, it will be asked, is there any definite proof that a lamb or ram was connected with the oak-cult at Dodona, or that the sun stood in any special relation to the king who reigned there? As to the lamb, let us hear the scholiast on *Od.* 14. 327 (codd. Q.V.): 'A shepherd feeding his sheep in the marshes of Dodona stole the finest of his neighbour's flocks and kept it penned in his own fold. The story goes that the owner sought among the shepherds for the stolen sheep, and, when he could not find them, asked the god who the thief was. They say that the oak then for the first time uttered a voice and said—"The youngest of thy followers." He put the oracle to the proof, and found them with the shepherd who had but recently begun to feed his flock in that district. Shepherds go by the name of followers. The thief was called Mandulas.¹ It is said that he, angered against the oak, wished to cut it down by night; but that a dove showed itself from the trunk and bade him desist from so doing. He in fear gave up the attempt and no longer laid hands on this sacred tree.' In this myth, which the scholiast gives on the authority of Proxenus, the man who kept the sheep was also the man who was about to fell the oak when he was warned by the dove. But this latter, as we have already seen, was none other than Hellus. Hellus, then, the founder of the Dodonaean priesthood, possessed the finest sheep of the neighbourhood. Is not this the connexion between sheep and oak-cult of which we were in search? Again, that the sun stood in a special relation not only to Aetes king of Colchis, who was the son of Helios, but also to the king of Dodona is even clearer. For the first king of the district after the flood was Phaethon himself (*Plut. v. Pyrrh.* 1).

There are thus some grounds for supposing that the early kings of Dodona were thought to control the sun.² If the earliest of them was identified with Phaethon, it may be surmised that his successors too were regarded as embodiments of the sun-god or sky-god. This I shall hope to prove further on. Meantime note that it would add fresh meaning to Sophocles' line—*Δωδώνι ναίων Ζεὺς ὁμέστιος βροτῶν*. It would also explain the remarkable title *ὁ τοῦ Διός*, 'the

representative of Zeus,' borne by the chief priest at Dodona (*Dem. c. Mid.* 53 bis). Moreover, it would provide us at last with an adequate reason for the maintenance of the perpetual fire. For the priestly-king, the human embodiment of the sun-god, by keeping up the fire on his earthly *ἐστία* would *ipso facto* be replenishing the solar flame—a sun-charm of the simplest kind. And, as often as he piled up the fuel—billets of oak, doubtless, cut by the *τόμouroι*—he would be helping Zeus to subsist upon his own all-nutrient tree.

Finally, the sacred spring of Zeus was imbued with the solar powers of the god himself: for unlighted torches when brought near to it burst into flame (*Pomp. Mel.* 2. 3. 43, *Plin. n.h.* 2. 228); and at midday, when the sun was blazing in the zenith, the water ceased altogether, while at midnight, when the sun was deep beneath the earth, the water was at its fullest (*Plin. loc. cit.*). If, as is quite possible, Zeus *Ναῖος* means 'Zeus of the stream,' I should identify the 'stream' with this *ἀναπαύομενον ὕδωρ*; it was in fact the liquid bond between Zeus the sky-god and Zeus the earth-god.

(4) It remains to speak of the Dodonaean doves. Philostratus Major *imagg.* 33. 1 begins his description of Dodona thus: *ἡ μὲν χρυσὴ πέλεια ἐπ' ἐπὶ τῆς δρυὸς ἐν λογίοις ἢ σοφῇ καὶ χρησμοί, οὗς ἐκ Διὸς ἀναφθέγγεται*. The exact wording is, as the editors of the Teubner text admit, 'dubia.' But it is at least clear that in Philostratus' picture a golden dove was perched on the sacred oak and served as the oracular mouthpiece of Zeus. Now the name *Χρυσοπέλεια* (= χρυσὴ πέλεια) was that of an oak nymph befriended by Arcas at a time when her tree was in danger (*Eumelus ap. Apollodor.* 3. 9. 1 and *ap. Tzetz.* in *Lyc.* 480). The coincidence points to a belief that the spirit immanent in the oak might take the form of a golden dove. The same connexion of ideas may have been present to the mind of Virgil, when he described Aeneas as guided to the golden bough by a couple of doves (*Aen.* 6. 190 ff.). Possibly too it underlies a curious passage of the *Iliad*—*Il.* 5. 778, where Hera and Athena, the wife and the daughter of Zeus, are said to step like a pair of *πελειάδες*:—

*τὼ δὲ βᾶτην τρήρωσι πελειάσιν ἴμαθ' ὁμοίαι.*³

Dr. Leaf and Mr. Bayfield hold that this is

¹ *Μανδύλας* Q. *Μαρδύλας* V. Cp. *Μανδράβουλος* in the Samian story.

² *Creuzer Symbolik* iv. 280, long since suggested that "Ελλην, "Ελλοί (Σελλοί), "Ελληνες, etc., are etymologically connected with *ἥλιος*, *σελήνη*, etc.

³ The same phrase is used of Iris and Eileithyia in *h. Apoll.* 114, *βᾶν δὲ ποτὶ τρήρωσι πελειάσιν ἴμαθ' ὁμοίαι*. But this appears to be a mere imitation of the line in the *Iliad*.

'a distinct touch of humour.' Aristotle took it more seriously: *καλῶς τῶν βουλομένων λαθεῖν τὰ ἴχνη περιστεραῖς εἰκασεν* ἀφανὴ γὰρ αὐτῶν τὰ ἴχνη, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης (*frag.* 149. 1503 b 1). To me it seems that the explanation of the dove-like gait lies rather in the relation of the goddesses to Zeus. For we find doves in attendance upon Zeus elsewhere. In *Od.* 12. 62 f. it is *πέλειαι τρήρωνες* that bring him ambrosia. And Moero of Byzantium (*ap.* Athen. 491 b) told how, when hidden in Crete from his father Cronus, he had been fed by doves in a cave; wherefore—

τρήρωσι πελειάσιν ὤπασε τιμὴν,
αἱ δὲ τοι θέρεος καὶ χείματος ἄγγελοι εἰσίν.

Indeed Zeus himself had taken the form of a dove (*περιστερά*) when enamoured of the maiden Phthia, who lived at Aegium in Achaea (Autoerates *ap.* Athen. 395 a, Ael. *v.h.* 1. 15). A coin of that town (*Brit. Mus. Cat. of Gk. Coins*, Peloponnesus p. 18 'Aegium,' No. 3) shows Phthia following the dove. Other coins of Aegium represent Zeus as an infant suckled by a goat between two tree-stumps, while an eagle hovers above him (M. W. de Visser *de Gr. diis non ref. spec. hum.* § 190): and these tree-stumps are probably oaks, for the name *Αἴγιον* can be connected with *αἰγίλωψ*, *αἰγίς*, etc. (Schrader *Reallex.* p. 164). At Aegium too, then, we seem to have an oak-spirit embodied in a dove. But, however that may be, it is tolerably certain that at Dodona Zeus was regarded as giving oracles by means of a dove or doves (for their number see Jebb on Soph. *Trach.* 1166 Appendix). The birds would be appropriate to Dione also as the mother of Aphrodite (Pauly-Wissowa i. 2767, 23 ff.), who had a cult in the precinct.

In fact, just as the sacred oak formed the vegetable medium of both the sky-father and the earth-mother, so the doves formed their animal medium.

The cult of Zeus *Ναῖος* appears in sundry places besides Dodona. A small altar found on the acropolis at Athens to the west of the Erechtheum, i.e. near the altar of Zeus Ἐρεχθίδης and the ἀστὴ ἑλαια, is inscribed Διὶ Ναίῳ κ.τ.λ. (*Δελτ.* 1890, p. 145); and a dedication τῇ Διώνῃ comes from the same place (*C.I.A.* iv. 2, 1550 c). There was also a cult of Zeus *Ναῖος* in Delos (Bekk. *anecd.* p. 283, 13 *Ναῖον Διός*: ὁ ναὸς τοῦ Διός, ὅς ἐν Δήλῳ, Ναῖον Διὸς καλεῖται). Athens and Delos were both important Ionian, i.e. Pelasgian, centres; so that the worship of Zeus *Ναῖος* may have been in both cases indigenous. Antiphanes in his comedy *Δωδώνη* seems to have had a chorus of Ἴόνων *τρυφεραμπεχόνων* (*ap.* Athen. 526 d). Still, it is equally possible, if not more probable, that both at Athens and in Delos the cult was a comparatively late importation from Dodona. One peculiar feature of the Dodonaean cult occurs yet further east. An inscription found at Tralles mentions a certain Δ. Αἰρηλία Αἰμιλία ἐκ προγόνων παλλακίδων καὶ ἀντιποπόδων (*Bull. corr. hell.* 1883, vii. 276). Mr. H. R. Hall (*The Oldest Civilisation of Greece*, p. 101) compared these ἀντιπόδες in Lydia with the ἀντιπόδες of Dodona. It may be added that the most important cult of Tralles was the ancient worship of Zeus *Λαρίσιος* (Strab. 440, 649), whose head occurs frequently on Trallian coins (*Brit. Mus. Cat. of Gk. Coins*, Lydia, p. cxxiv.): Busolt i.² 166 remarks that the name Larisa spells Pelasgian.

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

(To be continued.)

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

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